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MEMOIRS

OF THE

LIFE AND REIGN

OF

FREDERICK THE THIRD,

KING OF PRUSSIA.

BY JOSEPH TOWERS, L.L.D.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

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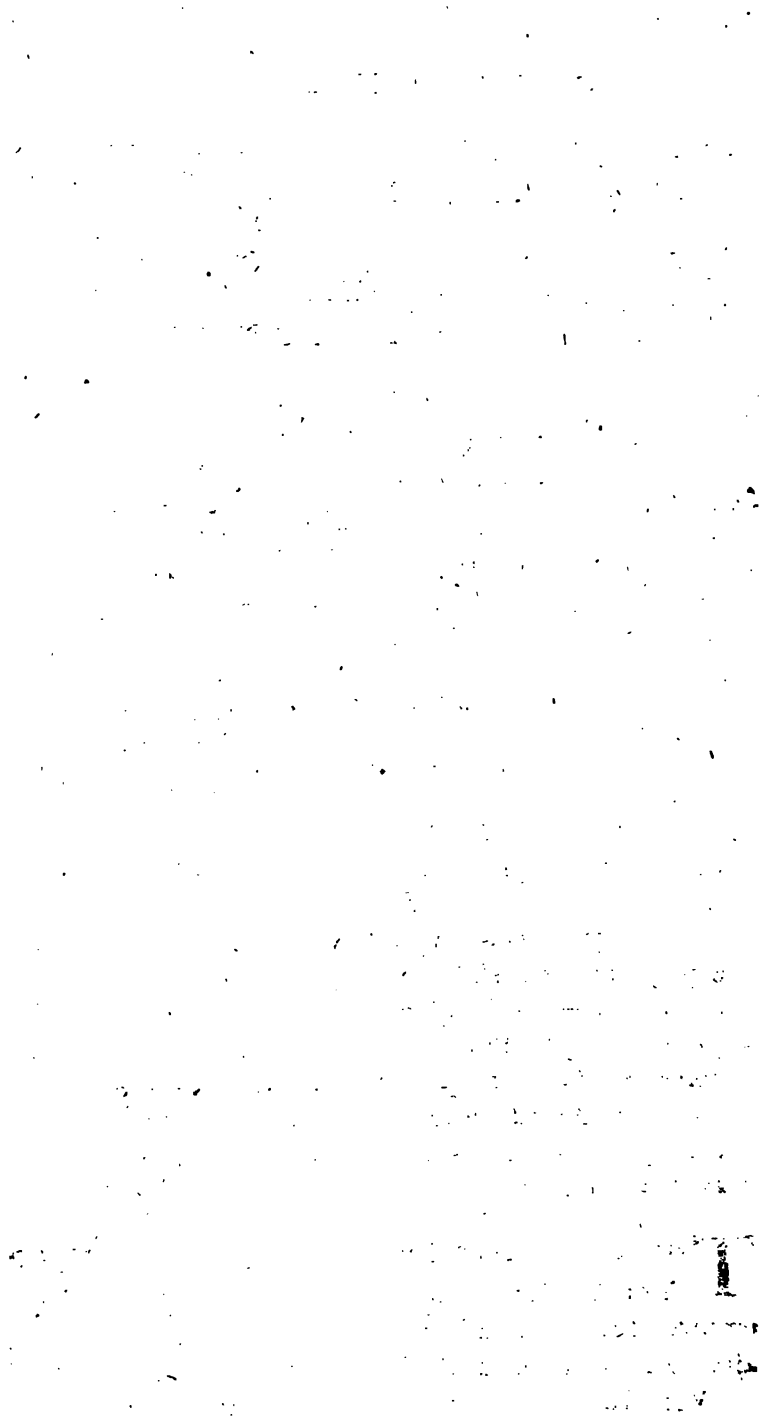

MEMOIRS

OF THE

LIFE AND REIGN

OF

FREDERICK THE THIRD.

CHAP. XIX.

Auſtria, Ruſſia, France, and a great part of the empire, united againſt Frederick.—He endeavours to force the Saxon troops, encamped at Pirna, to a ſurrender.—Marches into Bohemia, and engages the Auſtrian army, under the command of mareſchal Brown, at Lowoſitz.—He prevents the Auſtrians from affording any relief to the Saxons.—The Saxon troops at Pirna endeavour to effectuate an eſcape, but without ſucceſs.—Letter of the king of Poland to count Rutowſki.—The Saxon army ſurrenders to the king of Pruſſia, by capitulation.—His Poliſh majeſty quits his electoral dominions, and retires into Poland.—The Pruſſian troops go into winter quarters.—Application made, on behalf of his Poliſh majeſty, to the primate and ſenators of the republic of Poland, by count Beſtucheff, high chancellor of Ruſſia.—The king of Pruſſia is put under the ban of the empire.

THE king of Pruſſia had now united againſt him Auſtria, a conſiderable part of the empire, France, and Ruſſia; and Sweden ſoon after alſo declared againſt him. But notwithſtanding

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ſtanding the number and the power of his enemies, Frederick appeared in no reſpect diſpirited, but exhibited, when at the head of his army, the utmoſt chearfulneſs and vivacity. He had an ardent paſſion for military fame, and much confidence in his own abilities, and in the diſcipline and valour of his troops. Voltaire, ſpeaking of the war which the king of Pruſſia had now commenced, ſays, 'It was worthy of admiration that Lewis XIV. alone, 'ſhould be able to reſiſt Germany, England, 'Italy, and Holland, united againſt him; but 'we have ſeen a more extraordinary event, 'an elector of Brandenburgh, by himſelf, withſtand the forces of the houſe of Auſtria, of 'France, of Ruſſia, of Sweden, and one half 'the empire. This is a prodigy which we can 'only attribute to the diſcipline of his troops, 'and to the ſuperior talents of the general. It 'is true, that chance may gain a battle; but 'when the weak reſiſt the ſtrong, for ſeven 'years, in a country entirely open, and repair 'the greateſt loſſes, this cannot be the work 'of fortune. It is in this reſpect that this war 'differs from all others, which have deſolated 'the world[a].

When the king of Pruſſia entered Saxony, as he intended alſo to invade Bohemia, he had ordered mareſchal Schwerin, at the head of an army, conſiſting of thirty-three battalions and fifty-five ſquadrons, to enter that province by

[a] Age of Lewis XV. ch. 32.

the

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the way of Nachod and Neuſtadt [b]. In the mean time, the king of Poland continued encamped at Pirna; and Frederick, therefore, did not think it prudent to march himſelf into Bohemia, till he had reduced the Saxon army. The poſt of Pirna was joined on the right to the fortreſs of Sonneſtein, and on the left to that of Konigſtein. The front was inacceſſible, being a craggy rock, in ſome parts covered with vaſt pine-trees, of which the Saxons, for their better ſecurity, had felled great numbers. Behind Sonneſtein and Pirna flowed the Elbe, among rough and inacceſſible rocks. The ſtrength of this ſituation of the Saxon camp, determined the king of Pruſſia to turn the attack into a blockade. He had fixed his own head-quarters at Sedlitz, about half a German league diſtant from Pirna, and poſted his army in ſuch a manner, as to be able to intercept all convoys of proviſion intended for the Saxon camp; though he ſometimes permitted a waggon, loaded with freſh proviſions and game, to paſs unmoleſted for the uſe of his Poliſh majeſty [c]. The Pruſſian forces extended on the right towards the frontiers of Bohemia, and the van-guard ſeized the paſſes that lead to the circles of Satzer and Leitmeritz in that kingdom; whilſt prince Ferdinand of Brunſwick marched with a body of troops along the Elbe, and took poſt at Leitmeritz without oppoſition. At the ſame time the king covered his own dominions, by aſſem-

[b] Major-general Lloyd's Hiſtory of the late War in Germany, vol. I. p. 3.

[c] Smollet's Hiſt. of England, ut ſupra, p. 13, 14.

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bling two conſiderable bodies of troops in Upper and Lower Sileſia, which occupied the paſſes that communicated with the circles of Bruntſlau and Koningſgratz.

THE empreſs queen had not yet aſſembled any conſiderable forces in Bohemia; but on the motions of the Pruſſians, ſhe ordered all her troops that were then in the country to form two camps; the ſmalleſt, commanded by prince Piccolomini, at Koningſgratz, to oppoſe mareſchal Schwerin; and the largeſt, commanded by mareſchal Brown, at Kolin. But before the end of September, the Saxons at Pirna were reduced to a deplorable condition, and in want of almoſt every thing. The empreſs queen, being informed of their ſituation, ordered mareſchal Brown to march, and to attempt at all events to relieve them. The mareſchal then quitted his camp at Kolin, and arrived, on the 23d of September, at Budin on the Egra. But here he was forced to remain till the 28th, in order to wait for the artillery and pontoons, which were then preparing at Vienna. In the mean time mareſchal Keith, who had acquired great reputation in the Ruſſian ſervice, and who was now entered into that of Pruſſia, had advanced with a large part of the Ruſſian army into Bohemia. He reduced the town of Tetchen, took poſſeſſion of all the paſſes, and encamped near Auſſig, a ſmall town in Bohemia, at no great diſtance from the Auſtrian army under count Brown. But the king of Pruſſia having received information, that the Auſtrian general

was preparing to paſs the Egra, with an intention of relieving the Saxons, he left a conſiderable body of troops for the blockade of Pirna, and proceeded from the camp at Sedlitz to that near Auſſig, where he took upon himſelf the command of mareſchal Keith's corps, and advanced to give battle to mareſchal BROWN. Count Algarotti, ſpeaking of this Auſtrian general, who was of Iriſh extraction, gives him the following character: 'He is an officer,' ſays he, 'of great activity, fertile in expedients, wiſe 'in the planning of any enterprize, and prompt 'in the execution of it. If I were to compare 'him with any of the antients, I ſhould place 'him by the ſide of Veſpaſian or Marcellus. He 'deſerves the favour he enjoys at the court of 'Vienna, and is worthy the honour of being 'the opponent of the king of Pruſſia [d].' CHAP. XIX. A. D. 1756.

ON the thirtieth of September, Frederick formed his troops into two columns, and about an hour before ſun-ſet arrived with his van at Welmina, a village ſituated in a bottom, ſurrounded by mountains, moſt of which reſemble the form of a ſugarloaf. From thence he ſaw the Auſtrian army, with its right wing at LOWOSITZ, and its left towards the Egra. The ſame evening the king himſelf occupied, with ſix battalions, a hollow, and ſome riſing grounds, which commanded Lowoſitz, and which he reſolved to make uſe of the following day, in order to march out againſt the Auſtrians. It was late in the evening before all the Pruſſian troops arrived at Welmina, where the king only

[d] Letters military and political, p. 114.

formed

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formed his battalions behind one another, and the ſquadrons in the ſame manner, and they remained all night under arms. The king himſelf ſat up all night, having no other covering but his cloak, before a little fire, at the head of his troops [c]. On the firſt of October, at break of day, he took with him his principal general officers, and ſhewed them the ground which he intended to occupy with his army. The infantry, forming the firſt line, were to occupy two high hills, and the bottom between them; ſome battalions were to form the ſecond line; and the third was to be compoſed of the whole cavalry.

THE Pruſſian army amounted only to twenty-five thouſand men, and that of the Auſtrians is ſaid to have been double that number. Maréſchal Brown had taken poſſeſſion of LOWOSITZ, with a great body of infantry, and placed a battery of cannon in front of the town. He had formed his cavalry checquerwiſe, in a line between Lowoſitz and the village of Sauſchitz; and poſted about two thouſand Croats and irregulars in the vineyards and avenues on his right. The morning was darkened with a thick fog, which vaniſhed about ſeven. The Pruſſian cavalry then advanced to attack the enemy's horſe, but they received ſuch a flank fire from the Auſtrian irregulars, poſted in vineyards and ditches, that they were obliged to retire to

[c] Gent. Mag. vol. XXVI. p. 493, from the London Gazette.

their

their former poſts. The king was then for placing his cavalry behind in a ſecond line; but, before his orders could be given, they charged a ſecond time, bore down all oppoſition, paſſed through the ſame flank fire as at the firſt charge, and purſued the enemy above three hundred paces. In the exceſs of their ardour, they croſſed a ditch ten feet wide; and three hundred paces beyond this ditch was another, behind which appeared the Auſtrian infantry, in order of battle. Immediately ſixty pieces of cannon played upon the Pruſſian horſe, which therefore repaſſed the ditch, and returned to the infantry at the foot of the hill, without being followed. But about two hundred and fifty of the Pruſſians were taken priſoners; becauſe their horſes being killed after leaping the ditch, they were incapable of rejoining their regiments. Frederick after this would admit of no more ſuch ſallies; and, therefore, ordered the cavalry to poſt itſelf in the rear of the infantry. About this time the fire on the left wing began to increaſe: mareſchal Brown had ſucceſſively brought on twenty battalions, who, paſſing by Lowoſitz, lined the banks of the Elbe, to ſupport the pandours in the vineyards, where the Pruſſian infantry drove them from one wall to another, till ſome of them ſheltered themſelves in the firſt houſes of Lowoſitz. The ſecond line of Pruſſian infantry then mixed with the firſt, and the left ſtretched itſelf to the Elbe; and in this diſpoſition they advanced towards Lowoſitz. The grenadiers

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diers fired in through the doors, windows, and roofs of the houſes, and ſet them on fire. In this action, though only the attack of a poſt, every Pruſſian ſoldier of the left wing fired ninety ſhot[f]. The ammunition for their cannon was quite ſpent; notwithſtanding which, the regiment of Itzenblitz and Manteufel entered Lowoſitz with their bayonets fixed, and drove before them nine freſh Auſtrian battalions, which mareſchal Brown had juſt poſted there. The battle was now nearly at an end; for a great part of the Auſtrian troops fled in much diſorder; but the Pruſſian cavalry was prevented from taking advantage of it, by the broad ditch, and by the maſterly diſpoſition of mareſchal Brown, in taking all the left of his infantry, which had not been attacked, to cover his broken troops as they fled[g]. He ordered his center and left to make a movement to the right, by which they occupied the ground, in the inſtant that the right quitted it, behind Lowoſitz. This infantry, ſuſtained by the right wing of the cavalry, covered the retreat ſo effectually, that no attempt was made to interrupt it. Mareſchal Brown now took a poſition a little farther back; the left and center continued at ſome diſtance, behind marſhy rivulets, and the right formed an angle with the line, having the front towards the plain

[f] Authentic account of the campaign in Bohemia, publiſhed in the Gentleman's Mag. vol. XXVI. p. 553, 554, 555.

[g] Id. ibid.

behind

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behind Lowofitz and the Elbe. The Pruſſians, therefore, could not paſs through Lowofitz and form on the plain, with their rear immediately on the Elbe, and under the fire of a numerous artillery. Matters being thus circumſtanced, the king of Pruſſia was obliged to remain in the ſituation that he was, without proceeding any farther. But while mareſchal Brown continued in this poſition, Frederick had by no means effected his deſign. The action was not deciſive; and, therefore, had not made it impoſſible for count Brown to attempt the relief of the Saxons. He was as much in a condition to undertake it as before the action, the loſs of the Auſtrians having been inferior to that of the Pruſſians. Neither could the Pruſſian monarch have attacked him with any probability of ſucceſs, as he muſt, in paſſing the marſhy rivulets, have expoſed his army to difficulties, which mareſchal Brown had found inſurmountable. From this embarraſſing ſituation Frederick was extricated by his ſuperior talents. He ſent the duke of Bevern, with a large body of horſe and foot, to Tſchiſkovitz, as if he propoſed turning the enemy's left flank, and hemming them in between the Elbe and the Egra. This manœuvre had its deſired effect. Mareſchal Brown, fearing the event, haſtened to repaſs the Egra, and to occupy his old camp at Budin: and this he effected, without any loſs [b].

[b] Major-general Lloyd's Hiſt. of the War, vol. I. p. 10, 11.

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THUS ended the battle of Lowositz, which began at ſeven o'clock in the morning, and ended at three in the afternoon; though the retreat of count Brown, to his camp at Budin, did not take place till the day following. As the action had not been deciſive, both parties claimed the victory. But from the conſequences of the battle, though the greateſt loſs had been ſuſtained by the Pruſſians, it was manifeſt that the advantage was on their ſide. It had been the intention of the Auſtrian general to diſengage the Saxons, and with that view he advanced to Lowoſitz. The object of the king of Pruſſia was to prevent the execution of this plan. This end was obtained by the battle of Lowoſitz, and by the ſubſequent manœuvres, which forced the Auſtrians back behind the Egra, and thereby prevented them from undertaking any thing effectual for the relief of the Saxons. Had the Pruſſian monarch obtained a more compleat victory, he would have been enabled to take up his winter quarters in Bohemia.

THE firſt account of this battle which reached Berlin, was conveyed by a meſſenger ſent by the king to his mother the queen-dowager, with a note written to her with his own hand, and which contained only the following words: 'October the 1ſt. This morning I gave battle 'to the Auſtrians. Great generalſhip was diſ-'played on both ſides; and the fate of 'the day was doubtful for ſome hours; 'but

'but at laſt it pleaſed God to give us the victory[i].' CHAP. XIX. A. D. 1756.

THE loſs of the Pruſſians in the battle of LOWOSITZ amounted to 3308, killed, wounded, and taken priſoners. Among the killed were major-general Quadt and major-general Luderitz. The body of the latter was torn to pieces by a cannon-ball. Major-general Oertzen alſo received three wounds in the head, of which he died the day following. The loſs of the Auſtrians was 2984 killed, wounded, and priſoners. Count Radicati, lieutenant-general of horſe, was among the killed; and prince Lobkowitz was among thoſe taken priſoners by the Pruſſians[k].

MARESCHAL KEITH, who commanded under the king in this action, greatly diſtinguiſhed himſelf on the ſide of the Pruſſians; as did alſo lieutenant-general KLEIST. The latter was wounded in the battle; but he continued on horſeback, without binding his wounds, till four o'clock. The king conferred upon him afterwards the order of the black eagle; but he died of his wounds, at Dreſden, in the month of January following[l]. Count Algarotti mentions it as an inſtance of the attachment of ſome of the Pruſſian ſoldiers to their king, that at the cloſe of this battle, a ſoldier, who was mortally wounded, and in the agonies

[i] Entick's Hiſt. of the War, vol. II. p. 99.
[k] Lloyd's Hiſt. of the War, ut ſupra, p. 12, 13.
[l] Id. ibid.

of

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of death, inquired whether the king was ſafe, and how the day went? He was informed that the king was well, and that he had won the battle. "Now then," replied the ſoldier, "it "is a pleaſure to die [m]."

AMONG other Pruſſian officers, who were wounded in the battle of Lowoſitz, one was baron ROCHOW, who deſerves to be particularly mentioned, on account of his uncommonly amiable and excellent character. In conſequence of the wounds which he received in this action, he afterwards retired from the ſervice, and led a philoſophical life at his country ſeat at Rechan, near Brandenburgh. Here he employed himſelf in labouring to improve the morals, and promote the happineſs, of his tenants and dependants, and the poor in general in his neighbourhood. He employed ſchool-maſters, to whom he gave larger ſalaries than uſual, to inſtruct youth in ſuch branches of knowledge as would be moſt uſeful to them, and to inſtil into them the principles of piety and virtue. He endeavoured to introduce a rational mode of education, and eſtabliſhed country ſchools at his own expence, on his eſtates at Rechan and Gettin [n]. By theſe, and other benevolent exertions, after he quitted the ſervice, he rendered himſelf much more beneficial to mankind, than he could have been by a continuance in the

[m] Letters military and political, p. 114.
[n] Monthly Review, vol. LV. p. 556, 557.

Pruſſian

Pruſſian armies; where he would probably have been employed, not in promoting the happineſs, but in increaſing the calamities of his fellow creatures. CHAP. XIX. A. D. 1756.

MARESCHAL Brown, having failed in his attempt to relieve the Saxons on the left ſide of the Elbe, reſolved to try his fortune on the right. He communicated his ſituation and deſign to count Rutowſki, who was a natural brother of the king of Poland, and who commanded the Saxon troops at Pirna; and it was agreed, that the Saxons ſhould paſs the Elbe on the eleventh of October in the night, near Konigſtein; and that mareſchal Brown ſhould attack the Pruſſians at Ratmanſdorff and Borſdorff, on the twelfth in the morning, while the Saxons did the ſame on their ſide. Accordingly he paſſed the Elbe near Raudnitz, at the head of about eight thouſand men, and marched by Neuſtadtel, Romburg, and Hanſpach, and arrived at Lichtenhayn, a ſteep rock, near which he encamped, waiting till he heard the Pruſſians and Saxons engaged, which he ſuppoſed muſt happen at the inſtant that the Saxons paſſed the Elbe; and it was then that he was to enter into action, and to execute his part of the concerted plan [a].

THE poſt of Pirna, where the Saxons were encamped, had this defect, that it was as difficult to come out of it as to force it. But, on the twelfth of the month, the Saxons threw a bridge

[a] Lloyd's Hiſt. of the War in Germany, ut ſupra, p. 13, 14.

of

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of boats over the Elbe, near Konigſtein, to which caſtle they removed all their artillery. Then, ſtriking their tents in the night, they paſſed the river unmoleſted by the Pruſſians. They continued to retreat with all poſſible expedition; but the weather was uncommonly rainy and tempeſtuous, and the roads ſo bad that they made little progreſs. Next day, when part of them had advanced about half way up a ſteep hill oppoſite to Konigſtein, and the reſt were entangled in a narrow plain, where there was no room to act, they diſcovered that the Pruſſians were in poſſeſſion of all the paſſes. In the mean time, mareſchal Brown having waited two days for the Saxons, and found that they could not join him, thought it neceſſary to provide for his own ſafety, and accordingly returned to his camp at Budin.

THE Saxons were now ſurrounded on every ſide, fainting with hunger and fatigue, and deſtitute of every convenience. In this deplorable condition they remained, when the king of Poland, from the fortreſs of Konigſtein, ſent the following letter to his general, count Rutowſki:

'Mareſchal Count Rutowſki,

'It is not without extreme ſorrow that I underſtand the deplorable ſituation, which a chain 'of misfortunes has reſerved for you, the reſt of 'my generals, and my whole army: but we muſt 'acquieſce in the diſpenſations of Providence, 'and conſole ourſelves with the rectitude of our 'ſentiments

'sentiments and intentions. They would force me, it ſeems, as you give me to underſtand by major-general the baron de Dyherrn, to ſubmit to conditions the more ſevere, in proportion as the circumſtances are become more neceſſitous. I cannot hear them mentioned. I am a free monarch; ſuch I will live; ſuch I will die; and I will both live and die with honour. The fate of my army I leave wholly to your diſcretion. Let your council of war determine whether you muſt ſurrender priſoners of war, fall by the ſword, or die by famine. May your reſolutions, if poſſible, be conducted by humanity. Whatever they may be, I have no longer any ſhare in them; and I declare, that you ſhall not be anſwerable for aught but one thing, namely, not to carry arms againſt me, or my allies. I pray that God may have you, M. Mareſchal, in his holy keeping. Given at Konigſtein, the 14th of October, 1756.

'AUGUSTUS, REX P.'

ON the ſame morning in which the king of Poland's letter was dated, the king of Pruſſia arrived at his camp in Saxony, and a negociation took place between him and count Rutowſki, in conſequence of which the Saxon army ſurrendered, by capitulation, on the ſixteenth of the ſame month. Some of the anſwers made by the Pruſſian monarch to the articles of capitulation, propoſed by the Saxon general, were arrogant

[p] Smollet's Hiſt. of England, ut ſupra, p. 16, 17.

and

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and inſulting. The firſt article was, that 'the 'army of the king of Poland, elector of Saxony, which had been lately encamped at Pirna, 'ſhould ſurrender to the king of Pruſſia priſoners of war;' to which Frederick's anſwer was, 'If the king will give me that army, it is needleſs to make them priſoners of war.' The fourth article was, 'The generals, commandants, and 'all perſons ranking as officers, engage themſelves in writing, not to bear arms againſt his 'majeſty the king of Pruſſia till peace be reſtored; and they ſhall be left at liberty to ſtay in 'Saxony, or to retire whitherſoever they think 'proper.' To this Frederick replied, 'Thoſe 'that intend to enter into my ſervice muſt, 'from this very moment, have liberty to do ſo.' The fifth article was, 'The life-guards, and 'the grenadier-guards, ſhall not be included in 'the firſt article; and his Pruſſian majeſty will 'be pleaſed to appoint the place in the electorate of Saxony, or in the territories depending thereon, where the ſaid two corps ſhall 'be diſtributed. The field-mareſchal count 'Rutowſki, as captain of the grenadier-guards, 'the chevalier de Saxe, in quality of commandant of the life-guards, and all the other 'officers of thoſe two corps, verbally engage, 'and even in writing, if deſired, not to make, 'under any pretence whatever, nor without the 'approbation of the king of Pruſſia any change 'in the quarters that may be aſſigned them.' Frederick's anſwer was, 'There is no exception to be made, becauſe it is known, that

'the

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'the king of Poland did give orders for that part 'of his troops, which is in the ſaid kingdom, 'to join the Ruſſians, and to march, for this 'purpoſe, to the frontiers of Silefia; and a 'man muſt be a fool to let troops go which he 'holds faſt; to ſee them make head againſt 'him a ſecond time, and to be obliged to take 'them priſoners again.' The eighth article was, 'His Pruſſian majeſty ſhall give aſſurances, that 'no officer, or ſoldier, ſhall be obliged againſt 'his will, to enter into his army; and that 'after peace is reſtored, they ſhall all be ſent 'back to the king of Poland: and, on the other 'hand, his Poliſh majeſty may not refuſe diſ-'miſſion to the generals, and other officers of 'his army, who may engage in any other ſer-'vice.' To this the king of Pruſſia's reply was, 'Nobody need trouble his head about this. No 'general ſhall be forced to ſerve againſt his will: 'that is ſufficient[q].' Before the other articles of capitulation were ſigned, count Rutowſki declared, by a ſeparate article, that he was authorized to oblige the Saxon army to lay down their arms, but that he had no authority to free them from the oath of allegiance which they had taken, or to oblige them to take another[r]. The king of Pruſſia, however, without the leaſt heſitation, incorporated the Saxon troops, by compulſion, into his own army[s].

[q] Entick's Hiſt. of the War, vol. II. p. 102—105.
[r] Ibid p. 106. [s] Smollett, ut ſupra, p. 17.

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COUNT Algarotti ſays, that after the king of Pruſſia's 'ſucceſſes at Lowoſitz and Pirna, his 'principal care was, partly by incorporating 'the priſoners with his own ſoldiers, and partly 'by raiſing others in all parts of Saxony, and 'of the empire, to increaſe their number beyond 'what was ever known, ſince men have warred 'againſt each other; that is to ſay, ſince the be-'ginning of the world.' In another place, ſpeaking of the Pruſſian troops about this time, the ſame writer ſays, that they 'amounted to two 'hundred and twelve thouſand men: a greater 'army than ever the Romans had, even in the 'times of Trajan or Auguſtus[t].'

His Poliſh majeſty being now completely deprived of his electoral dominions, and of his army, and not allowed even to keep his guards, thought it high time to retire into Poland, and accordingly, with Frederick's permiſſion, ſet out for that kingdom; and Voltaire remarks; that the king of Pruſſia 'had the inſulting po-'liteneſs to furniſh him with poſt-horſes for 'his journey[u].' After this event, Frederick cantoned his forces in the neighbourhood of Sedlitz, and along the Elbe, towards Dreſden. His other army, which had entered Bohemia, under the command of mareſchal Schwerin, fell back into Sileſia, and was diſtributed into winter quarters of cantonment, on the frontiers of

[t] Letters military and political, p. 111, 112.

[u] Age of Lewis XV. ch. 32.

Bohemia,

Bohemia, from Zuckmantel to Greiffenberg. CHAP. XIX. A. D. 1756.

AFTER his Poliſh majeſty had quitted his electoral dominions, count Beſtucheff, high-chancellor of Ruſſia, wrote a circular letter to the primate, ſenators, and miniſters of the republic of Poland, on behalf of his Poliſh majeſty, in which are the following paſſages: 'You are 'undoubtedly already informed of all the parti-'culars of the king of Pruſſia's hoſtile and ſud-'den invaſion of Saxony; of the unheard of 'violences, and horrible exceſſes he has com-'mitted there; as well upon the poor inhabi-'tants, as againſt the very perſon of the king 'of Poland, your maſter, and the royal family; 'of the extreme neceſſity to which his majeſty 'has found himſelf reduced, to retire into Po-'land, by ſacrificing his hereditary dominions, 'and all his army; and of the king of Pruſſia's 'irruption into Bohemia. The king of Poland's 'deplorable fate, for which this prince did not 'give the leaſt handle, certainly deſerves com-'paſſion ſuitable to the immortal glory he has 'purchaſed by the noble conſtancy, which he 'has diſplayed in ſo melancholy a ſituation; 'and, at the ſame time, it ought to excite all 'powers, and eſpecially his allies, to concern 'themſelves in earneſt in an event of this na-'ture. The diſmal conſequences that may 'reſult from this the king of Pruſſia's unprece-'dented and raſh ſtep, as well for the common 'repoſe of Europe, as for every power in particu-

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'lar, and eſpecially for the neighbouring coun-
'tries, are ſo obvious, that the intereſt and
'ſafety of each ſovereign abſolutely require
'them to be upon their guard; and, by making
'it a common cauſe with the powers involved
'in the ſame embarraſſment, to take the pro-
'pereſt meaſures, not only for procuring the
'courts, ſo unjuſtly attacked, the ſatisfaction
'that is due to them, but alſo for preſcribing
'to the too extenſive power of the king of Pruſ-
'ſia ſuch bounds, as may hereafter be a ſecu-
'rity againſt the inſults of that enterprizing
'and turbulent neighbour, who, in defiance to
'the moſt ſolemn and moſt ſacred treaties, is
'intent upon nothing but aggrandizing his do-
'minions. The empreſs, my gracious ſove-
'reign, conſidering the importance of ſo ſad an
'event, and the ill conſequences that may ariſe
'from it, and having at heart the well being
'and the intereſts of her allies, and eſpecially
'of his majeſty the king of Poland, is deeply
'affected with the misfortunes of this prince,
'who, on his part, has not given the leaſt occa-
'ſion thereto; and not being able to behold
'with indifference the equally dire and raſh en-
'terprizes of the king of Pruſſia, ſhe has taken
'the generous reſolution to ſuccour, ſpeedily
'and efficaciouſly, the king your maſter, by
'ſending a conſiderable body of troops to his
'aſſiſtance. This corps has actually begun its
'march, under the command of his excellency
'field-mareſchal Apraxin; and an indiſpenſa-
'ble neceſſity will oblige it to traverſe part of

'the

'the territory of Poland. All impartial judges 'will ſurely abhor the king of Pruſſia's cruel 'procedure towards the territories of Saxony, 'and towards the perſon of the king of Poland 'himſelf, and will do juſtice to her imperial 'majeſty's generous ſentiments, as alſo to the 'reſolution ſhe has taken, which tends only to 'defend her allies, and reſtore peace in Europe, 'by ſettling it again in a juſt equilibrium.'— 'I flatter myſelf, that you and your country- 'men will not fail, by facilitating, in the beſt 'manner that can be done, the march of the 'ſaid body of her imperial majeſty's troops, 'through the territory of Poland, to render 'thereby a real ſervice to the king your maſter, 'in his preſent melancholy ſituation, (a ſituati- 'on that excites compaſſion from every one 'who loves honour, juſtice, and his country,) 'and to take the moſt ſalutary meaſures for 'defeating the king of Pruſſia's vaſt and perni- 'cious projects in Poland [v].' This letter was dated the twelfth of November, 1756.

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The Saxon ſoldiers, as might naturally be expected, being extremely averſe to enter into the ſervice of the king of Pruſſia, many of thoſe who had been forcibly incorporated into the Pruſſian army, embraced the firſt opportunity of deſerting [F]. Frederick thereupon immediately

[v] Literary Magazine, vol. I. p. 486, 487.

[F] Of the deſertion of ſome of the Saxon troops, we have the following account: 'The Saxon troops, that were com- 'pelled

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ately ordered the Saxon magiſtrates to raiſe four thouſand freſh recruits, to be ready with the utmoſt expedition for his ſervice. As he had driven the king of Poland from his electoral dominions, and was, by his conduct, the greateſt enemy which that prince had in the world, compelling the Saxons to enter into the Pruſſian ſervice, was in fact forcing them to fight againſt their own ſovereign: and tyranny

'pelled to enliſt, by no means ſeem to reliſh the rigour of the 'Pruſſian ſervice. A detachment of the regiment of light 'horſe, to the number of an hundred and fifty, have deſerted 'in a body; and the ſame has happened in a regiment of 'infantry. Theſe were purſued by a detachment of Pruſſians, 'overtaken, and fifty of them killed. The remainder owed 'their eſcape to the deſperate defence they made; telling the 'Pruſſians, that they would neither give nor receive any quar-'ter. In conſequence of theſe deſertions, his Pruſſian majeſty 'has cauſed all the Saxon regiments to be broken, and the 'ſoldiers to be incorporated with his own troops.' Gent. Mag. vol. XXVII. p. 182.

The king of Pruſſia has alſo denounced heavy penalties againſt thoſe who harboured Saxons who had deſerted from the Pruſſian ſervice; and of his behaviour relative to five Saxon deſerters, who had taken refuge in a convent in the dioceſe of Breſlaw, the following account was publiſhed at the time: 'DRESDEN, 'Dec 29, 1756. Notwithſtanding the ſevere prohibitions 'iſſued out on the part of his Pruſſian majeſty againſt harbour-'ing or aſſiſting Saxon deſerters, five of them lately took ſanc-'tuary in a convent in the dioceſe of Breſlaw; and being de-'manded by the king's officers, the prior of the convent had the 'hardineſs to refuſe to give them up; for which his majeſty 'condemned him to be hanged; but thought proper to change 'his ſentence to a fine, of which his majeſty acquainted the 'biſhop, as a mark of his reſpect for the Pope and all the Ca-'tholic party.' London Chronicle, vol. I. p. 69.

more

more atrocious is not, perhaps, eaſily conceivable, than that of compelling men to enter as ſoldiers into an army, in which they were to fight againſt their own prince, and their own country. But this was a ſpecies of tyranny, which the king of Pruſſia appeared to practiſe without the leaſt ſcruple [G]. In his "Military

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[G] Baron Bielfeld, who had quitted the Pruſſian court, and now reſided at Treben, near Altenburgh, in Saxony, informs us, in one of his letters, that ſome time after this, five of his tenants, Saxon peaſants, were ſeized as recruits for the Pruſſian army. They were afterwards diſcharged, as a perſonal compliment to Bielfeld, who made application to one of the Pruſſian generals for their releaſe. Letters of Baron Bielfeld, vol. II. p. 189, 190.

Some of the publications of the times contain accounts of great hardſhips impoſed on the Saxons, with reſpect to raiſing recruits for the Pruſſian army. Among theſe accounts are the following:

'DRESDEN, Jan. 14, 1757. This day the king of Pruſſia returned from Berlin with prince Henry. Laſt week all the youth of this city, who were not employed in arts and labours abſolutely neceſſary, were taken as recruits for the Pruſſian army.' London Chronicle, vol. I. p. 105.

'DRESDEN, Jan 2. The king of Pruſſia, in conſideration of the payment of 100,000 crowns, made him by the town of Leipſic, has excuſed it a quarter of the contribution demanded; but, at the ſame time, has ordered the magiſtrates of the place to raiſe five hundred men towards completing the Saxon regiments in the Pruſſian ſervice. The affair of raiſing recruits is extremely burthenſome, and few of the diſtricts have been able to furniſh half the number demanded of them, though they have enliſted all they could find within the age required. To complete our misfortunes, ſome of the men that had been accepted, have ſince been rejected, and it is abſolutely impoſſible

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"Military Inſtructions" for his generals is the following paſſage: "If the army is quartered in an enemy's country, the commander in chief is to take care, that he is ſupplied with the neceſſary number of recruits. He will divide the provinces into a certain number of circles, allotting ſo many regiments to each, in proportion to the number of people, in the ſame manner that we enroll our recruits in our own dominions. If the ſtates of the country are willing to furniſh recruits, ſo much the better; but, if they refuſe, you muſt have recourſe to violence. You muſt inſiſt on their being delivered early in the winter, that you may have time to make ſoldiers of them before the ſpring. But this need not hinder the captains from ſending out recruiting parties [x]."

' impoſſible to ſupply their places; though we are threatened ' with military execution, if we do not.' Ibid. p. 57.

' LEIPSIC, Jan. 19. The military executions to which the ' towns are ſubjected, for not furniſhing the number of recruits ' that was demanded, are made with the utmoſt rigour. The ' men employed in the mines in this country have been taken to ' recruit the companies of Pruſſian miners.' Ibid. p. 120.

' DRESDEN, April 4. The King of Pruſſia has demanded ' a third delivery of recruits, to the amount of two thouſand five ' hundred men, in order to augment with twenty each company ' of the regiments heretofore in the Saxon ſervice.' Ibid. p. 385.

[x] Military Inſtructions, written by the King of Pruſſia, for the Generals of his Army, p. 166.

RECRUITS

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RECRUITS for the Pruſſian army continued to be raiſed, with great rigour, throughout the territories of Saxony; and the King of Pruſſia alſo endeavoured, but ineffectually, to prevail on the Saxon officers, who had been encamped at Pirna, to enter into his ſervice [H]. Heavy pecuniary contributions were alſo levied upon the inhabitants of Saxony [I]. But, in other reſpects, his troops obſerved a very exact diſ-

[H] Of the behaviour of ſome of theſe Saxon officers, and their anſwers to the propoſals of the king of Pruſſia, the following account is given: 'The king of Pruſſia having again propoſed to the Saxon officers, that are out of employment, to reſume their poſts in the regiments wherein they formerly ſerved, and to prefer this courſe to idleneſs and poverty; they have unanimouſly declared, that they could not break the oath they had taken to their ſovereign; and, moreover, that they could never feel themſelves animated with that ſpirit, in his Pruſſian majeſty's ſervice, which is requiſite to ſupport the character of every officer, in the honourable profeſſion of arms; that they were fully ſenſible of their indigence; but as it was the effect of their duty, they bore it with patience and reſignation. Theſe poor officers owe their ſubſiſtence chiefly to the ſavings made by the queen of Poland, in the expences of her table and houſehold.' London Chronicle, vol. 1. p. 134.

[I] Of ſome of theſe exactions, the following accounts appeared in the publications of the times:

'LEIPSIC, Dec. 23, 1756. "The deputies ſent to Dreſden to remonſtrate to the king of Pruſſia againſt the payment of 500,000 crowns, exacted from this city, could not obtain an audience of the Pruſſian commiſſaries. They were told, that they muſt bring at leaſt a part of the money, before they could obtain any mitigation. Accordingly, 100,000 crowns were ſent to Dreſden on the 13th in three carts, and our deputies have ſince received hopes, that the remaining 400,000 crowns will be remitted.' London Chronicle, vol. I. p. 16.

cipline:

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cipline; and in matters which were of little conſequence to his main deſigns, when perſonal applications were made to him, he would ſometimes attend to, and redreſs, the complaints of the inhabitants. As an inſtance of this, the following incident is related. Ten of his life-guards being billeted upon a burgher of Dreſden, were placed by him in the third ſtory of his houſe; but this they reſented, telling him, that at Potſdam they were always lodged in the firſt ſtory; and they threatened to turn the burgher out of his own apartment, and to take poſſeſſion of it for themſelves. The burgher immediately preſented a ſtate of the caſe in writing to the king, who in five minutes returned it with this anſwer, written with his own hand: "Potſdam is not Dreſden; "Dreſden is not Potſdam. My troops muſt

* 'LEIPSIC, Jan. 19, 1757. The king of Pruſſia has ordered the Jews of Dreſden to pay him a contribution of thirty thouſand crowns, or leave the country.' London Chronicle, p. 120.

'DRESDEN, March 9. We are extremely embarraſſed here by the orders given to our magiſtrates to provide a farther ſum of 900,000 crowns for the Pruſſian military cheſt; the whole to be furniſhed between the firſt of April and firſt of May.' Ibid p. 301, 302.

'DRESDEN, June 8. The nobility and gentry of this country have in vain applied to the king of Pruſſia, to obtain ſome abatement of the ſum of 600,000 crowns, which he exacts as an indemnification of part of his expences, in GUARDING THEIR COUNTRY, againſt an invaſion by the Auſtrians.' Ibid. p. 599.

"be

" be ſatisfied with the third ſtory, where better " accommodations are not to be had[y]". CHAP. XIA. A. D. 1756.

BESIDES the declarations againſt the king of Pruſſia, which were publiſhed by different European powers, decrees were alſo iſſued againſt him by the Aulic council of the empire. As elector of Brandenburgh, he was put under the ban of the empire; he was declared deprived of all his rights, privileges, and prerogatives; his fiefs were eſcheated into the exchequer of the empire; and all the circles were ordered to furniſh their reſpective contingencies of men and money for putting this ſentence in execution [z].

IN the mean time, Frederick made great preparations for the enſuing campaign; and adopted every ſtep which he thought neceſſary for ſecuring to him the poſſeſſion of Saxony. The burghers of Dreſden were diſarmed, their arms depoſited in the arſenal, and a detachment was poſted at Konigſtein, to oblige that fortreſs to obſerve a ſtrict neutrality. All correſpondence with the enemy was ſtrictly prohibited [K]; and

[y] Gent. Mag. vol. XXVII. p. 86.

[z] Smollett, ut ſupra, p. 118.

[K] It ſeems from the following account, which was publiſhed at the time, as if a ſtop was put even to the private correſpondence of the queen of Poland with her huſband at Warſaw.

' DRESDEN, Dec. 22, 1756. On the firſt inſtant a courier ' from Warſaw was ſtopt at the gate of this city, by order of the Pruſſian

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and it having been diſcovered that the counteſs of Ogilvie, one of the maids of honour to the queen of Poland, had diſobeyed the king of Pruſſia's commands, ſhe was arreſted; but was afterwards releaſed, on the queen's interceſſion. The counteſs of Bruhl, lady of the Saxon prime-miniſter, was alſo arreſted by Frederick's order; and, on her making light of her confinement, and reſolving to ſee company, ſhe was ordered to quit the court, and retire from Saxony. M. Henwin, the French miniſter, was likewiſe acquainted, that his preſence was unneceſſary at Dreſden. He anſwered, that his maſter had commanded him to ſtay; but he was again deſired to depart, and then thought proper to comply. About the ſame time, the count de

'Pruſſian governor, though he had a paſs from the Pruſſian envoy at Warſaw. Two packets were taken from him, one directed to the queen, the other containing letters to different private perſons. The former was kept, but the latter was returned after being ſtrictly examined. Next day the queen ſent general Horſt to the Pruſſian governor, to expreſs her aſtoniſhment at the ſudden interruption of a correſpondence, which ſhe had been promiſed ſhould be left free. The governor ſaid, that he had obeyed his maſter's orders, who would no longer ſuffer any correſpondence between Warſaw and Dreſden by expreſſes, but only by the common poſt.' London Chronicle, vol. I. p. 16.

It appears alſo, from the following account, that the queen of Poland was not even permitted to have an intercourſe with the inhabitants of Dreſden. 'DRESDEN, April 20, 1757. 'By order of the king of Pruſſia, no perſon whatever is to have 'admittance at the caſtle, where her Poliſh majeſty and the royal 'family reſide, except their houſhold ſervants. Even foreign 'miniſters are included in this inhibition.' Ibid. p. 425.

Wackerbath,

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Wackerbath, miniſter of the cabinet, and grand maſter of the houſehold to the prince of Poland, was arreſted, and conducted to Curſtin, by the expreſs command of the Pruſſian monarch. Beſides pecuniary contributions, and furniſhing recruits, a variety of other hardſhips were likewiſe impoſed by Frederick on the Saxons. When two bridges were thrown over the Elbe by his directions, he ordered the ſeveral diſtricts of the electorate of Saxony to ſupply him with a great number of waggons, each drawn by four horſes. The circles of Miſnia and Leipſic were enjoined to furniſh four hundred each, and other circles in proportion[a].

[a] Smollett, ut ſupra, p. 119, 120.

CHAP.

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Numerous Auſtrian, Ruſſian, and French armies, aſſembled to act againſt the king of Pruſſia, at the opening of the campaign of 1757.—His military preparations.—He enters Bohemia at the head of a large army.—Battle of Prague.—Death of mareſchal Schwerin.—The king lays ſiege to the city of Prague.

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AT the beginning of the year 1757, the king of Pruſſia went for a ſhort time to Berlin, and afterwards returned again to Dreſden, accompanied by his brother, prince Henry. During the winter, Frederick had exerted himſelf, with the moſt unremitting aſſiduity, in making ſuch preparations as would enable him to open the enſuing campaign with vigour; and the army which he had aſſembled amounted to more than two hundred thouſand men. But the armies, which were collected by the great powers that were united againſt him, were computed to be more than three times that number. The army of the empreſs-queen had been augmented to one hundred and eighty thouſand men; but ſhe reſolved to act only on the defenſive, until her allies could take the field. She then flattered herſelf, that the Pruſſian monarch would be obliged to divide his forces into ſo many bodies, that he would be

be unable, any where, to make a vigorous re- CHAP. XX A. D. 1757. sistance[a].

THE Ruſſian army, under mareſchal Apraxin, which amounted to more than eighty thouſand men, had proceeded towards the borders of Lithuania, with a deſign to invade Ducal Pruſſia, whilſt a ſtrong fleet was equipped in the Baltick, to aſſiſt the operations of this army. The Ruſſians knew, that the country which they were to paſs through, in their way to Lithuania, would be unable to afford proviſions for their ſubſiſtence; and they had, therefore, taken care to furniſh themſelves with proviſions for their march thither; but they afterwards depended upon the reſources which they expected to find in Lithuania, upon their arrival in that country. When they reached the borders of that province, and their proviſions were nearly exhauſted, they found themſelves ſuddenly and unexpectedly unable to procure ſupplies, either to return back, or to proceed forward. For the king of Pruſſia, with great foreſight and ſagacity, had ſecured plenty to himſelf, and diſtreſs and famine to his enemies, by buying up all the corn and forage of the country, into which the Ruſſians were entering: and by this dexterous management he effectually retarded, for a conſiderable time, the progreſs of the Ruſſian army[b].

[a] Hiſt. of Modern Europe, vol. V. p. 263.
[b] Smollett, ut ſupra, p. 118, 119.

THE

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THE king of France, in order to convince the empreſs-queen that ſhe had acted wiſely, in connecting herſelf with the houſe of Bourbon, formed two great armies. The firſt conſiſted of nearly eighty thouſand men, the flower of the French troops, attended with a vaſt train of artillery, and was commanded by mareſchal d' Etrées, a general of great reputation; under whom ſerved M. de Contades, M. Chevert, and the count de St. Germain, all officers of high character. This formidable army paſſed the Rhine, and marched by Weſtphalia, in order to invade the king of Pruſſia's dominions, in quality of allies to the empreſs-queen, and guardians of the liberties of the empire. But a principal part of their deſign was to invade Hanover, a ſcheme which they knew would make a powerful diverſion of the Britiſh force, from the proſecution of the war in other parts of the world, where the ſtrength of France could not be fully exerted, and where ſome of their moſt important intereſts were at ſtake. The other army of the French, which was commanded by the prince de Soubiſe, conſiſted of twenty-five thouſand men, beſides ſix thouſand Bavarians, and four thouſand Wirtembergers [c]. This army was intended to ſtrengthen the army of the empire, which was raiſed to put into execution the imperial ſentence againſt the king of Pruſſia. The circles of the empire had been ordered to

[c] Smollett, ut ſupra, p. 116, 119. Annual Regiſter, vol. I. p. 14, 15. Hiſt. of Modern Europe, vol. V. p. 260, 261.

furniſh

furniſh their contingents of men and money to put this ſentence in execution; but the contingents were collected ſlowly, and the troops were badly compoſed; ſo that the army of execution would probably not have been ſoon able to act, had it not been for the aſſiſtance afforded under the prince de Soubiſe. CHAP. XX. A. D. 1757.

In conformity to the defenſive ſyſtem, which had been adopted by the court of Vienna, till they ſuppoſed their allies would be enabled to take the field, the Auſtrian army was diſtributed by mareſchal Brown into four different corps. The firſt, commanded by the duke of Aremberg, was poſted at Egra; the ſecond, under the mareſchal himſelf, at Budin; the third, under count Konigſeg, at Reichenberg; and the fourth, under count Serbelloni, in Moravia [d]. By this diſpoſition mareſchal Brown, who commanded in chief, imagined that he ſhould be able to ſtop the progreſs of the king of Pruſſia, if he ſhould attempt to march into the kingdom of Bohemia.

It was always the maxim of Frederick, to remove the war as much as poſſible from his own dominions, and to carry it on in the territories of his enemies. Accordingly, notwithſtanding the different armies which were aſſembled againſt him, he reſolved to enter into Bohemia, as ſpeedily as the ſeaſon would admit. But

[d] Major-general Lloyd's Hiſt. of the War in Germany, vol. I. p. 29.

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he previouſly viſited all the poſts which his troops poſſeſſed in Sileſia, and gave the neceſſary orders for their ſecurity. At Neiſs, he ſettled with mareſchal Schwerin the general plan of the operations of the enſuing campaign; and it was there agreed, that the mareſchal's army in Sileſia which conſiſted of fifty thouſand men, ſhould have in conſtant view the motions of the royal army, by which its own were to be regulated, that they might both act in concert, as circumſtances ſhould require [e].

In the month of April, the king of Pruſſia cauſed his armies in Saxony, Miſnia, Luſatia, and Sileſia, to enter Bohemia by four different and oppoſite routes, and nearly at the ſame time. The firſt of theſe he commanded in perſon, aſſiſted by Mareſchal Keith; the ſecond was led by prince Maurice of Anhalt-Deſſau; the third by prince Ferdinand of Brunſwick Bevern; and the fourth by mareſchal Schwerin. Mareſchal Schwerin's army entered Bohemia on the eighteenth of April, in five columns, at as many different places. The deſign was ſo well concerted, that the Auſtrians had not the leaſt ſuſpicion of the approach of the Pruſſians till they were paſt the frontiers, and then they filled the dangerous defile of Gulder-Oelſe with pandours, to diſpute that paſſage; but they were no ſooner diſcovered, than two battalions of Pruſſian grenadiers attacked them with their

[e] Smollett, ut ſupra, p. 119.

bayonets

bayonets fixed, and routed them. The prince of Anhalt paſſed the frontiers from Miſnia, and penetrated into Bohemia on the twenty-firſt of April, without meeting with any oppoſition. The prince of Bevern, who entered with the corps under his command from Luſatia, defeated, on the ſame day, a body of twenty-eight thouſand Auſtrians who oppoſed him. Frederick himſelf prepared to enter Bohemia at a great diſtance from the corps commanded by theſe generals; and as he ſeemed diſpoſed to march towards Egra, the enemy imagined that he intended to execute ſome deſign diſtinct from the object of his other armies. With this idea they detached a body of twenty thouſand men to obſerve his motions. The king of Pruſſia, finding that this feint had all the effect that he intended, made a ſudden and maſterly movement to his left, by which he cut off all communication between that detachment and the main army of the Auſtrians. He then puſhed on with the utmoſt rapidity towards Prague, near which city the Auſtrian army was now encamped, under the command of prince Charles of Lorrain, and mareſchal Brown. CHAP. XX. A. D. 1757.

The Auſtrian army, which had been reinforced by the army of Moravia, by the remains of the corps lately defeated by the prince of Bevern, and by ſeveral regiments of the garriſon of Prague, amounted nearly to one hundred thouſand men. They were ſtrongly entrenched on the banks of the Moldaw, to the north

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north of PRAGUE, in a camp ſo fortified by every advantage of nature, and every contrivance of art, as to be deemed impregnable. The left wing of the Auſtrians, thus ſituated, was guarded by the mountains of Ziſca, and the right extended as far as Herboholi[f].

THE king of Pruſſia having reſolved to attack the Auſtrian army, notwithſtanding its numbers, and the advantage of its ſituation, paſſed the Moldaw, at Seltz, on the fifth of May, at eight o'clock in the morning. He was joined by the corps under mareſchal Schwerin, and his other troops, at four o'clock in the following morning, in conſequence of meaſures which had been concerted with that general [L]. The king and M. Schwerin had both marched

[f] Smollett, ut ſupra, p. 128.

[L] In an account of the battle of PRAGUE, written by count Schwerin, adjutant-general to mareſchal Schwerin, are the following particulars relative to the junction of the troops under the king, and thoſe under the mareſchal, and to the commencement of the action: 'At two o'clock in the afternoon 'his majeſty ſent Stutterheim, one of his adjutants, to the 'mareſchal, with orders, that we, and the column commanded 'by general Winterfeldt, ſhould break up at twelve o'clock that 'night, and compaſs our march, ſo that the head of our columns 'ſhould arrive, exactly at four in the morning, upon the heights 'of Broſiz, where his majeſty promiſed to be, on the right, by 'Tſchimniz. Theſe orders were executed with ſuch preciſion, 'that our three columns arrived, at the place of rendezvous, at 'four o'clock; and, at ſuch a diſtance from each other, as to 'leave only the ſpace neceſſary to form the line. We did not 'meet with any obſtacle on our march, till we came to the 'heights before Broſiz; where Modena's regiment of horſe,

'two

marched with extraordinary rapidity, in order to effectuate this junction. The mareſchal had

' two of dragoons, and Feſtetitz's huſſars, were poſted that
' night. Theſe fired upon our vanguard, and retired immedi-
' ately, through Broſiz, to the left wing of their army. As ſoon
' as the king had wiſhed the mareſchal and general Winter-
' feldt a good morning, he rode, with theſe two generals, with-
' out any other eſcort than two of his adjutants, Captain Platen,
' lieutenant-colonel Oelſnitz, and myſelf, to one of the higheſt
' hills on the other ſide of Broſiz. From hence we could diſco-
' ver all the enemy's camp very plain; the firſt and ſecond
' line from one end to the other. His Majeſty reconnoitred it
' with his ſpying-glaſs. When the enemy perceived ſeven or
' eight perſons on the hill, he ſent us ſome four pounders, but
' without effect. His majeſty continued about an hour here, to
' examine their poſition, and how they were to be attacked.
' The enemy was poſted, with the left wing towards Prague,
' on the Ziſkaberg, behind the invalids; the right extended about
' 2000 paces beyond the village of Conradiz, near Steiboholi.
' Two hundred paces before their front, the mountains were ſo
' ſteep and craggy, that no cavalry or artillery could poſſibly
' aſcend them. At the foot of theſe mountains is a deep valley,
' which was entirely occupied by ſome huſſars and Hungarian
' infantry. The mountains on our ſide of the valley were no
' leſs ſteep and craggy than the others. Notwithſtanding theſe
' difficulties, his majeſty was inclined to attack the enemy in
' front. The mareſchal, on the contrary, repreſented to him
' the difficulty of the ground; the great march the troops had
' made; and the ſtrength of the enemy's poſition; who had
' covered the heights before their front with a prodigious quan-
' tity of heavy artillery. His Majeſty, convinced by theſe rea-
' ſons, permitted the mareſchal to go and ſeek out ſome more
' convenient place to form the attack. Upon which his excel-
' lency rode, full gallop, before the enemy's right, where the
' ground on both ſides falls gradually, and where he perceived a
' plain, before the enemy's right wing, near the village of
' Mieſiz, where the infantry could paſs over the meadows, and
' the cavalry and heavy artillery over the dams. As ſoon as
' the mareſchal had reconnoitred the ground, and given an

' account

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had been before joined by the prince of Bevern. But when the junction was effected between the different Pruſſian corps, their army is ſaid to have been much inferior in point of numbers to that of the Auſtrians. The Pruſſian monarch intended to have attacked the Auſtrian army in the front; but, by the perſuaſion of mareſchal Schwerin, he changed his deſign, and permitted that able general to make the attack on their right.

THE action commenced about eleven o'clock; when the Pruſſian cavalry having paſſed the dams,* the Auſtrian generals perceived that the king's intention was to attack their right flank. They, therefore, immediately ordered all their cavalry thither from the left. It came with great celerity, and was formed with that on the right in one hundred and four ſquadrons, in three lines, with intervals equal to the front of a ſquadron. This movement was made with ſo much promptitude, that the prince of Schonaich, the Pruſſian lieutenant-general of horſe, who had only ſixty-five ſquadrons, and was apprehenſive of being

* account of it to the king, orders were immediately given to the three corps to move on the left. This was executed with ſuch celerity, that the army, which had received the orders about nine o'clock, marched above four miles through very bad roads, and at half an hour paſt ten was formed; and at eleven the battle began on the left wing.' Lloyd's Hiſt. of the War, vol. I. p. 44, 45.

outflanked,

outflanked, judged it neceſſary to attack the enemy inſtantly, without waiting for the cavalry of the right wing, which the king had ordered to reinforce him. The attack was accordingly made with great vigour; but the Pruſſian cavalry being outflanked by eight ſquadrons, was twice repulſed, in ſpite of its moſt ſtrenuous efforts. In the third attack, however, the Auſtrian cavalry was entirely broken, by the bravery of twenty ſquadrons of huſſars, led on by general Ziethen, and puſhed with ſuch violence upon the grenadiers, as to throw them into confuſion [g].

During this ſhock of the cavalry, the Pruſſian infantry of the left wing, under mareſchal Schwerin, advanced to a marſhy ground, by which they were ſuddenly ſtopped, and which threatened to diſconcert the whole plan of operations. In this emergency, the mareſchal immediately took the colours of the regiment into his own hand, and boldly entered the moraſs, crying out, "Let all brave Pruſſians follow me." Animated by the example of their great and venerable commander, who is ſaid to have been now eighty-two years of age [M], all the troops preſſed forward, and their ardour did not abate, till they had totally defeated

[g] Hiſt. of Modern Europe, vol. V. p. 267, 268.

[M] This is the account generally given of mareſchal Schwerin's age at the time of his death; but general Lloyd ſays, that

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defeated the Auſtrians. But, unfortunately, mareſchal SCHWERIN had not advanced far towards the enemy, before he received ſeveral bullets; one in the ear, another in the heart, and three in other parts of the body [h]. He fell inſtantly from his horſe, without the leaſt ſigns of life; and general Manteufel took the colours out of his hand, and gave them to the enſign. But that officer had ſcarcely received them, when a cannon ball came and killed him on the ſpot [i]. Soon after the death of mareſchal Schwerin, prince Henry, the king's brother, diſmounted from his horſe, and, heading his brigade, was the firſt that climbed a mountain, and took poſſeſſion of a battery, by which the Pruſſian troops had been greatly annoyed [k].

THE king of Pruſſia expoſed himſelf to the fire of the enemy with the utmoſt intrepidity, and greatly contributed, by his own conduct, to the defeat of the Auſtrians. At a time

that he was born on the 26th of October, 1684; and if this date be right, the mareſchal, when he was killed, was only in his ſeventy-third year. This, however, was a great age, to exhibit ſo much activity, ardour, and preſence of mind, as were manifeſted by mareſchal Schwerin on this memorable occaſion.

[h] Account of the action written by count Schwerin, publiſhed in Lloyd's Hiſt. of the War, p. 46.

[i] Id. ibid.

[k] Account of the battle of Prague, written by a Pruſſian officer to his friend in Holland, and publiſhed in the Gentleman's Magazine, vol. XXVII. p. 279.

when

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when the Auſtrian right wing had obtained a conſiderable advantage over the Pruſſians, and, in the ardour of purſuit, had advanced ſo far as to leave an opening between the Auſtrian right and left wing, Frederick inſtantly availed himſelf of the favourable opportunity to occupy the vacant place. By this manœuvre he ſeparated the two wings of the enemy from each other; and at the ſame time, by an additional ſtroke of generalſhip, he ordered a body of troops to poſſeſs the ground on which his own left wing had ſtood: ſo that when the Auſtrian right wing was forced back by the Pruſſians, it found itſelf ſurrounded, and retreated in confuſion towards Maleſchitz and Bifchowitz; while the left wing, which was furiouſly attacked by the Pruſſian infantry, under prince Henry, with fixed bayonets, was obliged to take refuge in Prague. The center of the Auſtrians was alſo broken, after an obſtinate conteſt, and driven into the ſame city, and this completed the victory of the Pruſſians.

THE attack of the Auſtrian army by the king of Pruſſia was extremely unexpected [N]; but the

[N] In an account of this battle, written by a Pruſſian officer to his friend in Holland, is the following paſſage: 'The 'Auſtrian generals had no apprehenſions of an attack on the 'ſixth of May. Their cavalry were, on that day, out a forag-'ing. Their whole camp was quiet, and the ſoldiers boiled the 'pot. They had not the leaſt doubt, but that, on the fifth, 'mareſchal Schwerin's army was many miles off. But this 'army made forced marches on that day, as they had done the 'day

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the Auſtrians were ſtrongly poſted, and it was a very long and obſtinate engagement. It continued for ſeven hours; and the numbers that were killed and wounded on both ſides amounted to more than twenty thouſand men. Upwards of four thouſand priſoners were taken by the Pruſſians, together with ten ſtandards, two hundred and fifty pieces of cannon, and all the tents and baggage of the Auſtrians, with their military cheſt. The Pruſſians had three thouſand killed, and double that number wounded; and the loſs of the Auſtrians, in killed, and wounded, is ſuppoſed to have been about twelve thouſand. Among thoſe who were killed on the ſide of the Pruſſians, beſides mareſchal Schwerin, were the prince of Holſtein Beck and general D'Amſtel; and, on the ſide of the Auſtrians, mareſchal Brown received a wound, of which he afterwards died at Prague.

'day before; and having arrived in their camp at midnight, unſpeakably fatigued, received that very inſtant, orders to advance near ten Engliſh miles farther; where, juſt at day-break, they were joined by the king, who, without allowing his troops the leaſt repoſe, immediately began the attack. The enemy had not a moment to ſtrike their tents; ſo that, after the victory, all their field furniture and baggage, and all their carriages, fell into our hands. The huſſars of Ziethen have divided the military cheſt.' This officer, ſpeaking afterwards of the king's behaviour during the action, ſays, 'His majeſty expoſed his perſon to the fierceſt cannonading, with an air of unconcern, which made thoſe tremble for his life, whom it animated to riſk their own.' Gent. Mag. vol. XXVII. p. 278.

MARESCHAL

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MARESCHAL SCHWERIN, who was killed in this action, is ſtiled, in the account of it publiſhed at Berlin, "the greateſt general of his time[l]." He certainly poſſeſſed uncommon military talents; and the circumſtances and manner of his death, at ſuch an advanced age, reflect luſtre on his memory. The king was chiefly indebted to him for his victory at Molwitz, where the mareſchal received two conſiderable wounds. General Lloyd ſays of him, that 'he was rather a little ſized man; he had, 'however, a martial look; loved the ſoldiers, 'and was very careful of them; and was, there'fore, much beloved by them: and though he, 'on ſome occaſions, was very hot, in all his 'expeditions he knew how to combine the 'greateſt bravery with the greateſt prudence[m].' The king erected a marble ſtatue of him at Berlin, in the ſquare called *Place Guillaume*, where the ſoldiers were daily exerciſed. In the garriſon church of Berlin is alſo a monumental picture of him, in which he is repreſented dying, and embracing victory, by whom he is crowned. The colours, which he had in his hand when he was killed at the battle of PRAGUE, are leaning againſt him[n] [o].

AFTER

[l] Lloyd's Hiſtory of the War in Germany, vol I p. 41.

[m] Ibid. p. 42.

[n] Burney's Preſent State of Muſic in Germany, &c. vol. II. p. 105, 106.

[o] Mareſchal SCHWERIN ſtudied ſome time at Leyden; and, in 1699, ſerved in a Dutch regiment, of which his uncle was

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After the defeat of the Auſtrians at Prague, near fifty thouſand of them took ſhelter in that city.

was commander. In the year 1705, he was a captain of infantry. His uncle afterwards quitting the Dutch ſervice, he did the ſame; and, in 1706, he was made a lieutenant-colonel in the ſervice of the duke of Mecklenburgh. The following year he was advanced to the rank of colonel. In 1712, he was ſent by the duke of Mecklenburgh to Charles XII. king of Sweden, who was then at Bender, and he continued with that prince a year. On his return, he was made a brigadier; and, in 1718, a major-general. In 1719, he commanded the Mecklenburgh troops at the battle of Walmſmoelen, where he obtained the victory. He afterwards entered into the Pruſſian ſervice as a major-general; in 1731, was advanced to the rank of lieutenant-general; and the following year was made a knight of the order of the black eagle. In 1739, he was made a general of infantry; and, in 1740, a field mareſchal.

Voltaire intimates, that the king of Pruſſia was not a little diſpleaſed, that mareſchal Schwerin ſhould have gained the victory at Molwitz, after he had quitted the field. "The conquering general," he ſays, "was very near being diſgraced." He alſo mentions an inſtance of the king being extremely offended with the mareſchal, for remonſtrating againſt his heavy exactions in Sileſia. 'The Sileſian nobility,' ſays Voltaire, 'are 'ſo cruelly oppreſſed, that they ſucceſſively abandon the coun'try, leaving behind them what they cannot carry away. It is 'reported, that mareſchal Schwerin took the liberty one day to 'ſay to the king, "If your majeſty intends to give back this "province, you get enough from it; but, if you have a mind "to keep it, you draw a great deal too much." Frederick 'turned his back to him, and never forgave him that ſpeech.' Whatever truth there may be in theſe ſtories of Voltaire, it is certain, that the king of Pruſſia had a very high opinion of the military abilities of mareſchal Schwerin, and great confidence in them. On one occaſion he had acquainted the mareſchal, that he ſhould have forty thouſand men, which he was to have un-

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city *. The Pruſſian monarch immediately inveſted the city on both ſides of the river, himſelf commanding on one ſide, and mareſchal Keith on the other. In four days the whole city was ſurrounded with lines and intrenchments, by which all communication from without was entirely cut off. Prince Charles of Lorrain, the two princes of Saxony, the prince of Modena, the duke d'Aremberg and count Lacy, were among thoſe ſhut up within the walls. It has been conſidered as extraordinary, by military men, that the king of Pruſſia ſhould have thought it poſſible to reduce an army of fifty thouſand men, in ſuch an extenſive town as Prague, with an army ſo little ſuperior as his own. But he was of a temper that prompted him to bold attempts; and he flattered himſelf, that as Prague was very populous, the addition to the inhabitants of ſo numerous a garriſon, would make the reduction of the place by famine the more certain. He did not, however, rely ſolely upon this, but prepared to bombard the town. On the twenty-ninth of May, at midnight, after a dreadful ſtorm of rain and thunder, on the ſignal of a rocket, four Pruſſian batteries, which diſcharged every

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der his command for a particular ſervice. The mareſchal looking over a paper, which contained an account of the troops, told the king, that he could make out only thirty thouſand. "Oh, well," replied Frederick, "it is forty thouſand, including yourſelf."

* Lloyd's Hiſt. of the War in Germany, ut ſupra, p. 58.

twenty-

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twenty-four hours two hundred and eighty-eight bombs, beſides a vaſt multitude of red hot balls, began to pour deſtruction on the city, which was ſoon in flames in every part. The garriſon made a vigorous defence, and two well conducted and deſperate ſallies: but they were repulſed with great loſs After the conflagration had laſted three days, and conſumed a prodigious number of buildings, the principal magiſtrates, burghers, and clergy, perceiving their city on the point of being reduced to an heap of rubbiſh, beſought the commander in a body to hearken to terms. But he was deaf to their ſolicitations; and drove out twelve thouſand of ſuch of the inhabitants, as were leaſt uſeful in defending the city. Theſe, by order of the king of Pruſſia, were again forced back; which ſoon produced ſo great a ſcarcity of proviſions within the walls, that the Auſtrians were reduced to the neceſſity of eating horſe-fleſh, forty horſes being daily diſtributed to the troops, and the ſame food ſold at four-pence a pound to the inhabitants. Such was the wretched condition of the city of Prague at the beginning of the month of June; and the affairs of the empreſs-queen now ſeemed to be in a very critical, and almoſt deſperate ſituation. Her principal commanders were cooped up in Prague, that capital appeared in imminent danger of being taken, all her hereditary dominions were open and expoſed, and the whole fertile tract of country, from Egra to the Moldaw,

daw, was already in actual poſſeſſion of the Pruſſians [p]. CHAP. XX. A. D. 1757.

[p] Smollett, ut ſupra, p. 134. Annual Regiſter, vol. I. p. 17.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXI.

Mareſchal Daun takes under his command the troops of the empreſs-queen.—He defeats the Pruſſian monarch at the battle of Kolin.—Frederick raiſes the ſiege of Prague, and retires into Saxony.—The town of Zittau attacked by the Auſtrians, and nearly deſtroyed.—The prince of Pruſſia leaves the army.—The French make themſelves maſters of Cleves, Meurs, Gueldres, and Embden, and of the electorate of Hanover.

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THE king of Pruſſia had opened the campaign of the year 1757, with the moſt conſummate military ſkill; and, in the battle of PRAGUE, had gained a ſignal victory over the Auſtrians. Indeed, the manner in which he opened his campaigns, has been particularly admired by military men. Major-general Lloyd ſays, that 'no general has ever opened 'the different campaigns with more greatneſs 'or preciſion than the king of Pruſſia. His 'quarters were ſo diſpoſed, that it was ſcarcely 'poſſible, from thence, to gueſs at his intentions; as he could, ſeemingly, with equal 'facility, form very different enterprizes. From 'whence it always happened, that he began 'his operations with great views, celerity, and 'exactneſs; and, when his troops were attacked in their quarters, they always aſſem-

'bled

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'bled in the places appointed, without ever 'having ſuffered any conſiderable loſs: which 'is the more extraordinary, as he had very few 'light troops, eſpecially in the beginning [c].

But though Frederick had hitherto been thus ſucceſsful, yet he was now about to ſuſtain a conſiderable reverſe of fortune. This was chiefly occaſioned by the appearance, on the theatre of war, of a new general, Leopold count Daun, who was now appointed to command the Auſtrian troops. He had never commanded in chief before; but he had been formed, by a long courſe of experience, in various parts of Europe, and under the ableſt generals. Though of an illuſtrious deſcent, he had riſen to his preſent rank by the ſlow gradation of mere merit, without any aſſiſtance from court favour [p]. He had under his com-

[c] Hiſtory of the War in Germany, vol. I. p. 51.

[p] Count Daun was born in 1695, at Knin, a ſmall city ſituated upon a branch of the Moldaw, about ten leagues from Prague. His father, Joſeph count Daun, was of the imperial family; and his mother was daughter of count Konigſegg. At her marriage, her portion was five thouſand florins, and the little city of Konigſegg. The young count was not brought up in the manner uſual to perſons of his rank: he had few indulgencies, and his food was coarſe, and his clothes plain. He always went bare-headed; he was ſent to ſchool with other boys of his own age; and with them he was ſuffered to ramble about the woods, and to clamber up precipices, according to the cuſtom of the country. He was educated at Kolin, and the books in which he moſt delighted were Juſtin and Quintus Curtius, particularly the latter. At the age of fourteen he was ſent

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mand a large body of troops from Moravia, and received orders, before the battle of Prague, to join the main Auſtrian army near that city. When he arrived within a few miles of Prague, he received information of the victory, which had been obtained by the king of Pruſſia only the day before. Orders were afterwards ſent to him from the court of Vienna, to

ſent to the army in Flanders, and learned the firſt rudiments of the art of war under prince Eugene. He was a volunteer at the battle of Malplaquet; and his perſonal bravery being then much taken notice of by the famous count Kevenhuller, he was honoured after the battle with a ſtandard in the regiment of Keyſler, which he kept till the year 1717, when prince Eugene gave a total defeat to the Turks, at the battle of Peterwaradin. He had then ſtudied for ſix years the art of gunnery and fortification; and it is alſo ſaid, that there was ſcarcely a village in Germany, Bohemia, or Hungary, with the ſituation and importance of which he was not accurately acquainted.

After the battle of Peterwaradin, he was advanced, by prince Eugene, to be a captain of dragoons; and, three years after, he was promoted to the rank of lieutenant-colonel. He was preſent at the ſiege of Philipſburgh in 1734; and it was under his direction, that the cannon was fired by which mareſchal Berwick was killed; though he regretted the death of that general, both on account of his military talents, and his virtues as a man. Count Daun ſerved in the Auſtrian army as a colonel of dragoons, in the firſt war that broke out between the king of Pruſſia and the empreſs-queen; and at the battle of Dettingen he commanded ſome Hungarians againſt the French. In 1745, he was made a general of infantry; and in 1751, he was commandant of Vienna. In 1753, he was made a knight of the golden-fleece; and, in 1754, was promoted to the rank of field-mareſchal. He was a middle ſized man, and of a countenance remarkably engaging.

to

to act as he ſhould judge moſt advantageous for the ſervice of the empreſs-queen. He collected the fugitive corps and broken remains of the Auſtrian army, and ſoon drew together a force ſo conſiderable, as to attract the notice of the king of Pruſſia, who detached the prince of Bevern with twenty battalions, and thirty ſquadrons, to attack him before numbers ſhould render him formidable. But count Daun was too prudent to give battle, with diſpirited troops, to an army flushed with victory. He retired when he received information that the Pruſſians were advancing, and took poſt at KOLIN. Here he intrenched himſelf ſtrongly, and his army ſoon grew more numerous by the ſuccours, which the court of Vienna exerted all their power to ſend him; and he inſpired the garriſon of Prague with freſh courage, in expectation of being ſoon relieved. He divided the Pruſſian force, by obliging the king to employ near half his army in watching his deſigns; he weakened his efforts againſt Prague, and harraſſed him by cutting off his convoys; and, by degrees, he reſtored the languiſhing and almoſt deſponding ſpirit of the Auſtrian troops.

THE king of Pruſſia was fully ſenſible of the dangerous tendency to himſelf of the conduct of count Daun. He, therefore, determined, at all events, to attempt to diſlodge him from his poſt. He accordingly prepared to attack him with one part of his army, while he kept Prague blocked up with the other. The Auſtrians now amounted

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amounted to ſixty thouſand men; and they were deeply entrenched, and defended by a numerous train of artillery, placed on redoubts and batteries erected on the moſt advantageous poſts. Every acceſſible part of the camp was fortified, and defended with heavy pieces of battering cannon, and the foot of the hills ſecured by difficult defiles. Yet ſtrong as this ſituation was, and numerous as the Auſtrians were, Frederick undertook to diſlodge them with a body of horſe and foot, not exceeding thirty-two thouſand men[d]. It is ſaid, that mareſchal Keith ſtrongly diſſuaded him againſt this attempt; but the king could not be prevailed upon to deſiſt from his purpoſe; and was not yet ſufficiently acquainted with the military talents of the general with whom he was about to encounter.

It was on the eighteenth of June, about three o'clock in the afternoon, that the king of Pruſſia began the attack of the Auſtrians at Kolin, under count Daun. The Pruſſian infantry marched up to the heights on which the Auſtrians were poſted, and attacked their firſt line with great intrepidity. They drove them from two eminences ſecured with heavy cannon, and from two villages defended by ſeveral batteries. But, in attacking the third eminence, they were flanked by the Auſtrian cavalry; the Auſtrian grape ſhot alſo poured like hail upon the Pruſſians; and after a violent conflict, and a

[d] Smollett, ut ſupra, p. 135, 136. Annual Regiſter, vol. I. p. 18.

prodigious

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prodigious loſs of men, they were thrown into diſorder. Animated with the preſence of their king, the Pruſſians, however, ſoon rallied, and returned with double ardour to the charge. But they were a ſecond time repulſed. Prince Ferdinand of Brunſwick greatly diſtinguiſhed himſelf in the action; and ſeven times did the Pruſſians return to the attack; but without ſucceſs. The inferiority of the Pruſſian infantry, the diſadvantages of ground, where the cavalry could not act, the advantageous ſituation of the Auſtrians, their numerous artillery, their intrenchments, and numbers, joined to the ſkill and conduct of their general, all conſpired to defeat the hopes of the Pruſſians, to ſurmount their valour, and to compel them to retreat. The king himſelf, at the head of his cavalry, made one furious and concluding charge. Every effort was made, but every thing proved unſucceſsful. At laſt, after expoſing his perſon in the moſt dangerous ſituations, Frederick drew off his forces from the field of battle, and retired in ſuch good order, in ſight of the enemy, as prevented a purſuit, or the loſs of his artillery and baggage [c].

THE loſs of the Pruſſians, in killed, wounded, and priſoners, in the battle of KOLIN, was about fourteen thouſand; and the loſs of the Auſtrians, in killed and wounded, was computed to be more than eight thouſand.

[c] Smollett, ut ſupra, p. 137, 138. Annual Regiſter, ut ſupra.

Mareſchal

CHAP. XI. A. D. 1757. Mareſchal Daun had a horſe killed under him, and received two wounds in the action; but they were neither of them dangerous.

THE Pruſſian army having retreated to Nimburg, the king left the command to the prince of Bevern, and being eſcorted by twelve or fourteen huſſars, immediately ſet out for Prague, where he arrived the next morning without halting, after having been the whole preceding day on horſeback. He gave inſtant orders for ſending off all his artillery, ammunition, and baggage; and theſe orders were executed with ſo much celerity, that the tents were ſtruck, and the army on their march, before the garriſon was informed of the king's defeat. But when the news of the battle arrived at Prague, prince Charles of Lorrain ſallied out with a large body of the Auſtrians, and attacked the rear of the Pruſſians; though he was no farther ſucceſsful againſt them, than by killing about two hundred of their men. The ſiege of Prague being thus raiſed, the impriſoned Auſtrians received their deliverer, count Daun, with the utmoſt joy, and their united forces became greatly ſuperior to thoſe of the king of Pruſſia[f].

AFTER the battle of Kolin, Frederick very frankly acknowledged his own imprudence, in the attack which he had made upon the Auſtrian general, when he was ſo ſtrongly poſted,

[f] Smollett, ut ſupra, p. 139, 140.

and

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and with an inferior force. In a letter written by him at this time to the earl-marſhal of Scotland [q], brother to mareſchal Keith, are the following paſſages: 'The imperial grenadiers 'are an admirable corps: one hundred com- 'panies defended a riſing ground, which my 'beſt infantry could not carry. Ferdinand, 'who commanded them, returned ſeven times 'to the charge; but to no purpoſe. At firſt 'he maſtered a battery, but could not hold it. 'The enemy had the advantage of a numerous 'and well-ſerved artillery. It did honour to 'Lichtenſtein, who had the direction of it. 'That of Pruſſia only can diſpute it with him. 'I had too few infantry. All my cavalry were 'preſent, and idle ſpectators, excepting a bold 'puſh that I made with my houſehold troops, 'and ſome dragoons. Ferdinand attacked 'without powder; the enemy, in return, 'were not ſparing of theirs. They had the 'advantage of a riſing ground, of entrench- 'ments, and of a prodigious artillery. Seve-

[q] GEORGE KEITH, Earl-Marſhal of Scotland, having engaged in the rebellion in 1715, and being preſent at the battle of Sheriffmuir, was afterwards attainted in Parliament. He was much reſpected for his perſonal virtues, and was made by the king of Pruſſia governor of Neufchatel. He was likewiſe employed by the Pruſſian monarch as ambaſſador to France; and, by his interceſſion, received a pardon from king George II. for the ſhare he had in the rebellion of 1715; and, in 1760, his attainder was reverſed. After his pardon had paſſed the ſeals, he repaired to London, and was preſented to the king, by whom he was graciouſly received. But he ſoon after returned again to Berlin, and continued in the ſervice of the king of Pruſſia.

'ral

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'ral of my regiments were repulſed by their 'muſquetry. Henry performed wonders. I 'tremble for my worthy brothers: they are 'too brave.—Fortune turned her back on me 'that day. I ought to have expected it. She 'is a female, and I am no gallant. In fact, I 'ought to have had more infantry.—Succeſs, my 'dear lord, often occaſions a deſtructive confi-'dence. Twenty-four battalions were not 'ſufficient to diſlodge ſixty thouſand men 'from an advantageous poſt. Another time 'we will do better.—What ſay you of this 'league, which has only the marquis of Bran-'denburgh for its object? The great elector 'would be ſurprized to ſee his grandſon at war 'with the Ruſſians, the Auſtrians, almoſt all 'Germany, and an hundred thouſand French 'auxiliaries. I know not whether it will be 'diſhonourable in me to ſubmit; but I am ſure 'that there will be no great glory in vanquiſh-'ing me s.'

BESIDES the loſs which the king of Pruſſia ſuſtained in killed and wounded, in the battle of Kolin, he alſo loſt great numbers of his men by deſertion; and was, ſoon after, obliged to retreat towards Saxony. Having ſent his heavy artillery and mortars up the Elbe to Dreſden, he fixed his camp on the banks of that river at Leitmeritz, where his main army was ſtrongly intrenched; whilſt mareſchal Keith, with the troops under his command, encamped on the

s London Chronicle, vol. II. p. 385. Smollett, p. 139.

oppoſite

oppoſite ſhore; a free communication being kept open by means of a bridge. Detachments were ſent, at the ſame time, to ſecure the paſſes into Saxony. CHAP. XXI. A. D. 1757.

THIS poſition of the king of Pruſſia prevented the Auſtrians from being able to penetrate into Saxony by the way of the Elbe: they therefore moved, by ſlow marches, into the circle of Buntzlau. On the fourteenth of July, a detachment from the main Auſtrian army ſuddenly attacked the important poſt of Gabel, ſituated between Boemiſh-Leypa, and Zittau; and took it after an obſtinate defence, of thirty-ſix hours, made by the Pruſſian garriſon, under major-general Putkammer, conſiſting of four battalions, who were obliged to ſurrender priſoners of war. The Auſtrians then proceeded to Zittau, a trading town in the circle of Upper Saxony, where the Pruſſians had large magazines and a conſiderable garriſon. The prince of Pruſſia was alſo in the neighbourhood with a body of troops; but they were too few in number to enable him to oppoſe the Auſtrians. Zittau belonged to the king of Poland as elector of Saxony; but the Auſtrians, paying no regard to the inhabitants as friends or allies, but being determined to reduce the place, before the king of Pruſſia could march to its relief, they no ſooner arrived before it, than they bombarded and cannonaded it with ſuch fury, that moſt of the garriſon, finding themſelves unable to reſiſt, made their eſcape, and carried

off

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off as much as they could of the magazines; leaving only three or four hundred men in the town, under colonel Direcke, to hold it out as long as poſſible. This he accordingly did, till the whole place was almoſt deſtroyed. A furious cannonading, which began on the twenty-third of July, at eleven in the morning, laſted till five in the evening. In that ſpace of time four thouſand balls, many of them red hot, were fired into the city, with ſo little intermiſſion, that it was ſoon ſet on fire in ſeveral places. In the confuſion, which the conflagration produced, the Auſtrians entered the town. The inhabitants then flattered themſelves, that they had nothing farther to fear; and that their friends, the Auſtrians, would aſſiſt them in extinguiſhing the flames, and in ſaving the place. But their expectations were miſerably diſappointed. The Pandours and Sclavonians, who ruſhed in with the regular Auſtrian troops, made no diſtinction between the Pruſſians and the inhabitants of Zittau. Inſtead of helping to quench the flames, they began to plunder the warehouſes which the fire had not reached; ſo that all the valuable merchandize they contained was either carried off, or reduced to aſhes. Upwards of ſix hundred houſes, and almoſt all the public buildings, the cathedrals of St. John and St. James, the orphan-houſe, eight parſonage-houſes, eight ſchools, the town-houſe, the archives, and all the other documents of the town-council, the plate and other things of value, preſented to the town from time to time by

by emperors, kings, and other princes and noblemen, were entirely deſtroyed, and more than four hundred citizens were killed in this aſſault [R]. Many others alſo, who were maimed and wounded, were afterwards dug out of the ruins [h].

As Auguſtus William, the prince-royal of Pruſſia, commanded in the neighbourhood of Zittau, he was in ſome degree a witneſs to the deſtruction of the place, and was much affected with the diſtreſs of the inhabitants. This place was chiefly deſtroyed by the Auſtrians; but the prince is ſaid about this time to

[R] In one account it is ſaid, 'that the taking of Zittau was 'attended with many uncommon circumſtances of cruelty on one 'ſide, and diſtreſs on the other.'—'The mothers, wives, and 'children of the merchants, were killed as they were ſitting in 'their chambers and nurſeries, by the bombs that fell through 'the roofs of the houſes. Six hundred and twenty-three dwelling-houſes, beſides ware-houſes, were burnt to the ground. 'The Stadthouſe alſo, with all the other public buildings, were 'deſtroyed, except the cathedral, which was ſo much damaged, 'that it was every moment expected to fall. The number of 'citizens, of both ſexes, that were killed in this aſſault, amounts 'to more than four hundred, not reckoning thoſe that were 'buried under the ruins, or bruiſed, burnt, and otherwiſe 'wounded, by the burſting of bombs, and the falling of houſes.' Gent. Mag. vol. XXVII. p. 379. Another account ſays, 'Ninety perſons have been dug out of the ruins. Dr. Stroumelius's widow, with her whole family, conſiſting of fourteen 'perſons, and ſixty-four others, were found dead in their 'houſes.' London Chronicle, vol. II. p. 190.

[h] Smollett, p. 164, 165. London Chronicle, vol. II. p. 61, 169

have

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have made ſome ſtrong repreſentations to his brother upon the calamities with which the preſent war was attended; which gave the king ſo much offence, that he told the prince, "That the air of Berlin would be better for him than that of the camp." He quitted the army ſoon after, and retired to Berlin, where he died the following year. He is reported to have much diſapproved of the conduct of his brother at the commencement of the war, and to have remonſtrated with him upon the ſubject. Baron Bielfeld ſpeaks highly of the many excellent qualities of this prince; and Dr. Smollett ſays, that "none was ever more remarkable for humanity and the ſocial virtues;" that "he diſliked the violent proceedings of the king his brother;" and that "grief and concern for the welfare of his brother, and for the ſteps taken by him, had no ſmall ſhare in his death [i]."

THE French army, under the command of the prince de Soubiſe, having paſſed the Rhine, that general had, early in the campaign, made himſelf maſter of Cleves, Meurs, and Gueldres; whilſt a detachment, from the army of mareſchal d'Etrées, had ſeized upon the town of Embden, and whatever elſe belonged to the king of Pruſſia in Eaſt Frieſland. In the month of April, the duke of Cumberland was ſent over from England, to command an army of obſer-

[i] Hiſt. of England, ut ſupra.

vation,

vation, as it was ſtiled, and which was intended for the defence of Hanover. This army conſiſted of nearly forty thouſand Heſſians and Hanoverians, together with a few regiments ſent by the king of Pruſſia, but which were chiefly compoſed of Saxons. With this army the duke of Cumberland attempted in vain to obſtruct the progreſs of mareſchal d'Etrées; and, after ſome unſucceſsful ſkirmiſhes, he was obliged to retire behind the Weſer, and the French paſſed that river without oppoſition[k]. The duke continued to retreat before mareſchal d'Etrées, till he reached the village of Haſtenbeck. Having choſen an advantageous poſt, he there attempted to make a ſtand, on the twenty-fifth of July; but being worſted, after a vigorous reſiſtance, he was obliged to quit his ſtation. He then retreated to Hamelen, where he left a garriſon, then to Nienburg, and afterwards to Hoya; in the neighbourhood of which town, after ſending away all his magazines, ſick, and wounded, he encamped, in order to cover Bremen and Verden, and to preſerve a communication with Stade, to which place the archives, and moſt valuable effects of Hanover had been removed.

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IMMEDIATELY after the battle of Haſtenbeck, the French ſent a detachment of four thouſand men to lay under contribution the countries of Hanover and Brunſwick-Wolfenbuttel as well as the duchies of Bremen and

[k] Hiſt. of Modern Europe, vol. V. p 262.

Verden;

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Verden; and ſoon after the duke de Chevreuſe was detached, with two thouſand men, to take poſſeſſion of the capital of the electorate of Hanover. He accordingly entered that city, and aſſumed the office of governor of it, on the ninth of Auguſt. The Hanoverian garriſon was diſarmed, but left at liberty to retire where they pleaſed.

As the French were thus become maſters of Hanover, all that the king of Great Britain had dreaded concerning it had now taken place; and it was ſufficiently manifeſt, that this electorate had derived no ſecurity from his treaty with the king of Pruſſia. The landgrave of Heſſe-Caſſel, who had a ſubſidy from Great Britain, took part alſo with the Pruſſian monarch; but almoſt all the other German princes were united againſt him. Of the nine electors of Germany, the only one who engaged on the ſide of the king of Pruſſia was the elector of Hanover; ſo little perſuaded were the generality of the German princes, that the conduct of the Pruſſian monarch had any tendency to promote the intereſts of Germany.

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Progreſs of the Ruſſian army, under mareſchal Apraxin.—Memel taken by the Ruſſians.—Frederick's declaration on his dominions being invaded by the Ruſſians.—Battle of Groſs Jagerſdorff.—Retreat of the Ruſſians.—The Swedes invade the Pruſſian dominions; but are ſucceſsfully oppoſed by general Lehwald.—Convention of Cloſter-Seven.—Declaration of the king of Great Britain.

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THE Ruſſian army, commanded by mareſchal Apraxin, which was intended to act againſt the king of Pruſſia, having been diſtreſſed for want of proviſions, and other neceſſaries, had been more than ſix months delayed upon its march; but in May the Ruſſian general [s] advanced with his army, in four columns, towards the frontiers of Pruſſia. Three of theſe columns paſſed through Poland, and the fourth through Samogitia, towards Memel. The laſt column was commanded by general

[s] If an account, which was publiſhed of mareſchal APRAXIN at the time, was in any degree juſt, this general was not very well adapted for expeditious marches. The account to which I refer is the following: 'The Ruſſian field-mareſchal 'Apraxin is ſo monſtrouſly fat, that he can neither walk on foot, 'nor ride on horſeback; nor, without great difficulty, in a 'coach; ſo that he is always carried in a litter, and travels only 'two leagues a day.' Extract of a private letter from the Hague, publiſhed in the London Chronicle, vol. I. p. 72.

Fermor,

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Fermor, and intended for the ſiege of Memel. To facilitate that enterprize, admiral Lewis, an Engliſhman of reputation in the Ruſſian ſervice, ſailed with a conſiderable fleet from Revel, with about nine thouſand men on board, in order to attack Memel on the ſea-ſide, while general Fermor did the ſame by land. They arrived before Memel at the end of the month of June; and, on the fifth of July, the place ſurrendered by capitulation [a]. This conqueſt was of great conſequence to the Ruſſians, as they could make of it a convenient place of arms, and, by means of their fleet, furniſh it with proviſions and ſtores ſufficient to ſupply their whole army, and thereby enable them to proſecute the operations of the campaign.

BEFORE the taking of Memel, the king of Pruſſia had ordered general Lehwald, with about thirty thouſand men, to march to the frontiers of Pruſſia, and oppoſe the progreſs of the Ruſſians. That general accordingly aſſembled his army in the month of June, and advanced to Inſterburg, with a corps farther on towards Memel. And when the Pruſſian monarch found, that the Ruſſians were actually about to invade his dominions, he publiſhed a declaration, in which were the following paſſages: 'It is ſufficiently known, that the king 'of Pruſſia, after the example of his glorious 'anceſtors, has, ever ſince his acceſſion to the

[a] Major-general Lloyd's Hiſt. of the War in Germany, vol. I. p. 141.

'crown,

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'crown, laid it down as a maxim, to ſeek the friendſhip of the imperial court of Ruſſia, and to cultivate it by every method. His Pruſſian majeſty hath had the ſatisfaction to live, for ſeveral ſucceſſive years, in the ſtricteſt harmony with the reigning empreſs; and this happy union would be ſtill ſubſiſting, if evil-minded potentates had not broken it by their ſecret machinations, and carried things to ſuch an height, that the miniſters on both ſides have been recalled, and the correſpondence broken off. However melancholy theſe circumſtances might be for the king, his majeſty was nevertheleſs moſt attentive to prevent any thing that might increaſe the alienation of the Ruſſian court. He hath been particularly careful, during the diſturbances of the war that now unhappily rages, to avoid whatever might involve him in a difference with that court, notwithſtanding the great grievances which he hath to allege againſt it, and that it was publickly known, that the court of Vienna had at laſt drawn that of Ruſſia into its deſtructive views, and made it ſerve as an inſtrument for favouring the ſchemes of Auſtria.'

'His majeſty hath not neglected to expoſe the artifices, by which the imperial court of Ruſſia hath been drawn into meaſures ſo oppoſite to the empreſs's ſentiments, and which would excite the utmoſt indignation of that great princeſs, if the truth could be placed before her, without diſguiſe. The king did more. He ſuggeſted

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'ſuggeſted to her imperial majeſty ſufficient 'means either to excuſe her taking no part in 'the preſent war, or to avoid, upon the juſt- 'eſt grounds, the execution of thoſe engage- 'ments, which the court of Vienna claimed 'by a manifeſt abuſe of obligations, which 'they employed to palliate their unlawful 'views. It wholly depended upon the empreſs 'of Ruſſia to extinguiſh the flames of war, 'without unſheathing the ſword, by purſuing 'the meaſures ſuggeſted by the king. This 'conduct would have immortalized her reign 'throughout all Europe. It would have gain- 'ed her more laſting glory than can be ac- 'quired by the greateſt triumphs.

'THE king finds with regret, that all his pre- 'caution and care to maintain peace with the 'Ruſſian empire are fruitleſs, and that the 'intrigues of his enemies have prevailed. His 'majeſty ſees all the conſiderations of friend- 'ſhip and good neigbourhood ſet aſide by the 'imperial court of Ruſſia, as well as the obſer- 'vance of its engagements with his majeſty. 'He ſees that court marching its troops 'through the territories of a foreign power[r], 'againſt the inclination of that power, and 'contrary to the tenor of treaties, in order to

[r] The territories of Poland are here meant. The Poles were at this time divided into parties, but they ſeemed in general inclined to remain neuter in the preſent war. They were but little inclined to embroil themſelves with the king of Pruſſia, in ſupport of their king, when they found that he was incapable of defending his own electoral dominions.

attack

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'attack the king in his own dominions, and thus 'taking part in a war in which his enemies 'have involved the Ruſſian empire.

'In ſuch circumſtances, the king hath no 'other part to take, but to employ the power 'which God hath entruſted to him in defend- 'ing himſelf, protecting his ſubjects, and 'repelling every unjuſt attack. His majeſty 'will never loſe ſight of the rules, which are 'obſerved even in the midſt of war amongſt 'civilized nations. But if, contrary to all 'hope and expectation, theſe rules ſhould be 'violated by the troops of Ruſſia, if they com- 'mit in the king's territories diſorders and ex- 'ceſſes, diſallowed by the laws of arms, his 'majeſty muſt not be blamed if he makes re- 'priſals in Saxony; and if, inſtead of that 'good order and rigorous diſcipline, which 'have hitherto been obſerved by his army, 'avoiding all ſorts of violence, he finds him- 'ſelf forced, contrary to his inclination, to 'ſuffer the provinces and ſubjects of Saxony 'to be treated in the ſame manner as his own 'territories ſhall be treated.'—'As his majeſty 'is forced upon making his defence, he has 'room to hope with confidence, that the Lord 'of hoſts will bleſs his righteous arms, that he 'will diſappoint the unjuſt enterprizes of his 'enemies, and grant him his powerful aſſiſt- 'ance to enable him to make head againſt 'them[b].'

[b] Entick's Hiſt. of the War, vol. II. p. 406, 407, 408, 409.

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THE whole Ruſſian army, under the command of mareſchal Apraxin, united in the month of Auguſt on the river Ruſs, and thence advanced towards the Pregel. General Lehwald, on their approach, quitted his camp at Inſterburg, and retired to Wehlaw, where he continued, till he received poſitive orders to hazard a battle, though the Ruſſian army was much more than double in number to that of the Pruſſians. Having reconnoitered the poſition of the Ruſſians, who had paſſed the Pregel, and were encamped at GROSS JAGERSDORFF, near NORKITTEN, general Lehwal attacked them on the thirtieth of Auguſt, at five o'clock in the morning. The Ruſſians were poſted to the greateſt advantage, on and behind two almoſt inacceſſible mountains; the paſſage between which was alſo ſecured by a ſtrong column of their regular troops. On the ſummits of the hills were planted upwards of an hundred and forty pieces of cannon, on batteries ſo diſpoſed, that ſcarcely a poſſibility remained of their being ſucceſsfully attacked in front. The Pruſſians, however, proceeded in regular order to force their way through the paſs between the mountains, whilſt a party of light cavalry, on the wings, attempted the eminencies, in order to ſilence the batteries, which kept continually playing. But in this deſperate attempt the Pruſſian cavalry ſucceeded ſo ill, whole ranks being put into confuſion, and tumbled down the precipices by the fire of the Ruſſians, that after ſix ſucceſſive trials, in which

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which they overpowered but one battery of twelve guns, they were forced to retire with great loſs. The prince of Holſtein Gottorp, however, at the head of his regiment of dragoons, routed the Ruſſian cavalry, and afterwards fell upon a regiment of grenadiers, which was cut to pieces; but when the Pruſſians came to the ſecond entrenchment, mareſchal Lehwald found that the attempt to carry it would be too hazardous. The Ruſſians were much better ſoldiers than he expected, and ſtood their ground with a firmneſs that ſurprized him. After an obſtinate engagement of ſeveral hours, during which victory remained doubtful, and every poſſible exertion had been made, he was at length forced to retreat to his former camp, and the Ruſſians remained in their preſent ſituation [c].

The loſs of the Pruſſians in the battle of GROSS JAGERSDORFF, amounted to three thouſand men, killed, wounded, and miſſing. Among their wounded was lieutenant-general count Dohna. The Ruſſians are ſaid to have had ſix thouſand killed and wounded; and three of their generals were killed [u]. The Pruſſians, in the courſe

[c] Hiſt. of Modern Europe, vol. V. p. 276, 277. Smollett, p. 171. Lond. Chronicle, vol. II. p. 273.

[u] Lord Cheſterfield, in one of his letters to his ſon, dated Sept. 23. 1757, makes the following remarks relative to the battle of GROSS JAGERSDORFF: 'The late action between 'the Pruſſians and Ruſſians has only thinned the human ſpecies, 'without giving either party a victory; which is plain by each 'party's

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courſe of the action, had made themſelves maſters of above eighty pieces of cannon; but they were afterwards obliged to abandon them, together with eleven of their own, for want of carriages.

BEFORE the battle of GROSS JAGERSDORFF, great outrages and acts of cruelty had been committed upon the inhabitants of the country, by the Ruſſian Caſſocks, and other barbarians belonging to their army. But ſoon after that event, they were very unexpectedly delivered from theſe unwelcome viſitants; though not till they had left in the country marks of the moſt ſavage barbarity. After remaining about a fortnight quite inactive in their camp, the Ruſſians ſuddenly retreated out of Pruſſia, with ſuch precipitation, that they left ſeveral thouſand of their ſick and wounded behind them, together with eighty pieces of cannon, and a conſiderable part of their military ſtores. Mareſchal Apraxin concealed his deſign by advancing all his irregulars towards the Pruſſian army; ſo that mareſchal Lehwald was not informed of it till it was too late to overtake any conſiderable number of them; though ſome priſoners were taken by the Pruſſians.

'party's claiming it. Upon my word, our ſpecies will pay very 'dear for the quarrels and ambition of a few, and thoſe by no 'means the moſt valuable part of it. If the many were wiſer 'than they are, the few muſt be quieter; and would, perhaps, 'be juſter and better than they are.' Letter 96.

The

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The Ruſſians made their retreat in two columns, one of which directed its courſe towards Memel; whilſt the other took the neareſt way through the bailiwick of Abſternen, and threw bridges over the river Jura. Both columns burnt every village through which they paſſed. They at length entirely evacuated the Pruſſian dominions, excepting Memel, where they left a garriſon of ten or twelve thouſand men. The cauſe of this ſudden and unexpected retreat is not certainly known; but the occaſion of it is ſaid to have been the illneſs of the czarina, who was ſeized with a kind of apoplectic fit, and had made ſome new arrangement in caſe of a vacancy of the throne, which rendered it expedient that the regular forces ſhould be at hand, to ſupport the meaſures taken by the government [d].

But to the numerous enemies of the king of Pruſſia about this time were added the Swedes, who now openly took part againſt him, though the Swediſh monarch was married to Frederick's ſiſter. By the Swediſh conſtitution which then ſubſiſted, the power of the king was extremely limited, and the Swedes entered into the war againſt Pruſſia contrary to the inclinations of their prince. A plot had been diſcovered, in 1756, for rendering him deſpotic [v]; and the Swediſh ſenate, who were extremely

[d] Smollett, p. 172.

[v] Several perſons were executed for being concerned in this plot; but afterwards, in 1757, papers were ſtuck up at the corners

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extremely hoſtile to the king of Pruſſia, probably ſuſpected him of favouring and promoting the deſign. The Swedes profeſſed, that they entered into the war againſt the king of Pruſſia as guarantees of the treaty of Weſtphalia, which had been violated by the invaſion of Saxony; and it was apprehended, that, by engaging in the war, they hoped to gain poſſeſſion of a conſiderable part of Pruſſian Pomerania. At the end of the month of Auguſt, an army of ſeventeen thouſand Swedes marched againſt the Pruſſians, under the command of general Ungern Stornberg. Having paſſed the river Peen, the Swedes ſoon took Demmin, Anclam, and the iſlands of Uſedom and Wollin, and then advanced into the Pruſſian part of Pomerania, where they raiſed contributions without meeting with any obſtacle[e]. But after the Ruſſians had retreated out of the Pruſſian dominions, general Lehwald, with the army under his command, compelled the Swedes to abandon almoſt all that they had taken, and to retire under the cannon of Stralſund.

THE French ſtill continued in poſſeſſion of the electorate of Hanover; and the duke of Cumberland found himſelf and his army ſo

corners of the ſtreets, in different parts of Sweden, in favour of conferring abſolute power on the king; and theſe papers are ſtated to have originated with what was called the Pruſſian party in that kingdom. London Chronicle, vol. II. p. 288.

[f] Lloyd's Hiſt. of the War in Germany, p. 147.

[g] Id. Ibid.

hemmed

hemmed in by them on all ſides, that, on the eighth of September, he ſigned the convention of Cloſter-Seven; by which an army of thirty-eight thouſand Hanoverians, Heſſians, and other troops in the pay of his Britannick majeſty, was diſſolved, and diſtributed into different quarters of cantonment, though without being diſarmed, or conſidered as priſoners of war. The French were left, till a peace took place between the two ſovereigns, in full poſſeſſion of the countries they had conquered; but under the expreſs condition of abſtaining from future violences, hoſtilities being immediately to ceaſe on both ſides [s]. This convention appears to have been ſigned very reluctantly by the duke of Cumberland; but it was effected chiefly by the advice and influence of the regency of Hanover [w], who were ſenſible, that it were much better for their country to continue in a ſtate of neutrality, than to take an active part in the war in favour of the king of Pruſſia.

Before the convention of Cloſter-Seven was ſigned, the Pruſſian monarch was under ſome apprehenſions, that, in the preſent critical ſtate

[s] Hiſt. of Modern Europe, vol. V p. 278, 279, 280.

[w] A letter of conſiderable length was publiſhed at the time in England, ſaid to be written by a member of the regency of Hanover to an Engliſh nobleman, in which it was ſtated, that his Britannick majeſty, very properly, was accuſtomed to pay a juſt regard to the counſels of his electoral miniſters; and that the public adminiſtration in Hanover was not of ſo deſpotic a nature, as it was apprehended to be in England.

of

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of his affairs, he ſhould be deſerted by his ally, the king of Great Britain. He is ſaid to have written an expoſtulatory letter to his Britannick majeſty upon the ſubject [x]; and, a few days after the convention of Cloſter-Seven, the fol-

[x] The letter is ſaid to have been as follows: 'I am informed, that the deſign of a treaty of neutrality for the electorate of Hanover is not yet laid aſide. Is it poſſible, that your majeſty can have ſo little fortitude and conſtancy, as to be diſpirited by a ſmall reverſe of fortune? Are affairs in ſo ruinous a ſtate, that they cannot be repaired? I hope your majeſty will conſider the ſtep that you have made me hazard. That has been the cauſe of all the misfortunes that now impend over my head. I ſhould never have renounced the alliance of France, but for your flattering promiſes. I repent not of the treaty that I have concluded with your majeſty; but do not ſhamefully abandon me to the mercy of my enemies, after having brought upon me all the powers of Europe. I expect that your majeſty will adhere to your engagements, renewed on the 26th paſt, and that you will liſten to no treaty in which I am not comprehended.'

This letter was publiſhed by Smollett, Entick, and others; and in the London Chronicle, both in French and Engliſh. But in the Gentleman's Magazine, (vol. XXVII. p. 526.) it is ſaid to have been declared in the Berlin Gazette, that the letter was not authentic. If the letter be genuine, Frederick certainly aſſerted more in it than could have been properly ſupported. His treaty with George II. could not have been the cauſe of all the misfortunes in which he was involved. That treaty, indeed, probably induced him to commence the war earlier than he would otherwiſe have done; and that treaty ſeems to have been the ſole cauſe of the alliance between the houſes of Auſtria and Bourbon. But Frederick's difficulties were in reality occaſioned by his own ambition; and the king of Great Britain, without foreſeeing the conſequences, became an inſtrument, greatly to the prejudice of his own dominions, for promoting the views of the king of Pruſſia.

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lowing declaration was delivered to all the foreign miniſters reſident at the Britiſh court; and which has been conſidered as an anſwer to Frederick's expoſtulation: CHAP. XXII. A. D. 1757.

'THE king having ordered an account to be 'given him of the repreſentations of M. Mi'chell, in relation to ſome overtures made by 'his majeſty's electoral dominions concerning 'the checks received in Germany, hath com'manded, that anſwer be given to the king of 'Pruſſia's miniſter, That it never was his ma'jeſty's intention, that the ſaid overtures, made 'without the participation of the Britiſh coun'cil, ſhould have the leaſt influence on his ma'jeſty's conduct as king. His majeſty ſees, in 'the ſame light as before, the pernicious ef'fects of the union between the courts of Vi'enna and Verſailles, which threaten a ſub'verſion of the whole ſyſtem of public liberty, 'and of the independence of the European 'powers. He conſiders, as a fatal conſequence 'of this dangerous connection, the ceſſion 'made by the court of Vienna, of the ports of 'the Netherlands to France, contrary to the 'faith of the moſt ſolemn treaties; and, in 'ſuch a critical ſituation, whatever may be the 'ſucceſs of arms, his majeſty is determined to 'act in conſtant concert with the king of Pruſ'ſia, in employing the moſt efficacious means 'to fruſtrate the unjuſt and oppreſſive deſigns of 'their common enemies; and the king of 'Pruſſia may aſſure himſelf, that the Britiſh

'crown

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'crown will continue to fulfil, with the greateſt 'punctuality, its engagements with his Pruſſian 'majeſty, and to ſupport him with firmneſs 'and vigour.

'Whitehall, Sept. 16, 1757.

'HOLDERNESSE [b].'

[b] Entick's Hiſt. of the War, vol. II. p. 417.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXIII.

The king of Pruſſia enters Luſatia, and encamps at Bautzen.—He is joined by mareſchal Keith.—Removes his head-quarters to Bernſtædtel, and afterwards repeatedly offers battle to the Auſtrian army; but his offer is declined.—A detachment of Auſtrians march to Berlin, and levy contributions on the inhabitants.—Rigorous exactions by the king of Pruſſia on the inhabitants of Saxony.—The city of Leipſic inveſted by the combined army of the empire, and of France.

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THE king of Pruſſia, in a ſhort time after the battle of Kolin, finding it neceſſary to evacuate Bohemia, quitted his camp at Leitmeritz on the twentieth of July, and proceeded ſucceſſively to Sulowitz, Luſechitz, Nellendorf, and Cotta. On the twenty-ſixth of that month he arrived at Pirna, near Dreſden, where he halted the next day. On the twenty-eighth, he croſſed the river near that place, and entered Luſatia, where, on the following day, he encamped at Bautzen. In the mean time, mareſchal Keith, who had been left upon the frontier, to guard the paſſes of the mountains of Bohemia, arrived at Pirna, having been much harraſſed in his march by the Auſtrian irregular troops, and loſt ſome waggons of proviſions and baggage. Having reſted a day at Pirna, the mareſchal

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chal purſued his march through Dreſden, with twenty battalions and forty ſquadrons, and encamped on the right of the Elbe, before the gate of the new city, from whence he joined the king between Bautzen and Gorlitz. The Pruſſian army, which was now here aſſembled, amounted to about ſixty thouſand men, beſides twelve battalions and ten ſquadrons which remained in the camp at Pirna, under the prince of Anhalt-Deſſau, to cover Dreſden, ſecure the paſſes of the mountains, and check the incurſions of the Auſtrian irregulars, with whom, as they were continually flying about the ſkirts of the Pruſſian army, as well in their encampments as on their marches, almoſt daily ſkirmiſhes happened, ſome of which were very bloody. [a]

THE main army of the Auſtrians, having ſecured their communications with Bohemia, by making themſelves maſters of Zittau and Gabel, now reſolved to advance farther into Luſatia, and to endeavour to cut off the king of Pruſſia entirely from Sileſia. Accordingly the Auſtrian army marched from Zittau to Eckartſberg, from whence ſeveral detachments were ſent on the left, to obſerve the motions of the Pruſſians; and on the right, down the Neiſs, in order to ſecure the paſſes into Sileſia. A ſmall body of light Auſtrian troops, commanded by colonel Jahnus, had already penetrated into that coun-

[a] Smollett, ut ſupra, p. 163, 164, 166. London Chronicle, vol. II. p. 161.

try

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try by the way of Trautenau [b]. But as Frederick, after his junction with mareſchal Keith, had a conſiderable army aſſembled at Bautzen, he reſolved to open the communication with Sileſia, and to endeavour to bring the Auſtrians to an action. Having remained for ſome time encamped between Bautzen and Gorlitz, he removed his head-quarters to Bernſtædtel. At that place his vanguard took the baggage of the Auſtrian general Beck; and ſome of his light troops puſhing on towards Oſtritz, where they arrived about noon, they ſurprized count Nadaſti at table. That general had juſt time to get upon his horſe, by the ſwiftneſs of which he eſcaped; but all his field-equipage, his waggons, moſt of his horſes, his attendants, and ſeventy-two other priſoners, fell into the hands of the Pruſſian huſſars [c].

The army of the king of Pruſſia came in ſight of the Auſtrian camp, and within cannon ſhot of it, on the fifteenth of Auguſt: upon which the Auſtrians ſtruck their tents, and drew up in order of battle before their camp. Frederick formed his army over-againſt them, and immediately went to reconnoitre the ground between the armies; but it being then late, he deferred a more exact examination of it till the next day. The two armies continued under arms all night. Next morning, at break

[b] Lloyd's Hiſt. of the War in Germany, p. 84, 85.

[c] Letter from a Pruſſian officer, publiſhed in the London Chronicle, vol. II. p. 238.

of

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of day, the king found the Auſtrians in a very advantageous camp, covered by narrow defiles and marſhes, having the Neiſe on the right, and on the left a high hill defended by three batteries, one above another; a deep defile before their line, and their rear ſupported by hills. The king hoped to have brought the Auſtrians to deſcend into the open plain, and he left nothing undone to bring them to a battle. But as they were ſo advantageouſly poſted, and appeared determined to avoid an action, after continuing four days before them, he returned with his army to his camp at Bernſtædtel. The Auſtrian army, which thus declined an engagement, was, by their own account, an hundred and thirty thouſand ſtrong; which was more than double in number to that of the king of Pruſſia; who, the day he returned to Bernſtædtel, after he had retired about two thouſand yards, again drew up his army in line of battle and remained ſo upwards of an hour. But not a man ſtirred from the Auſtrian camp [d].

THOUGH Frederick had not been able to bring the Auſtrians to a battle, he had ſent general Grumkow with a body of troops to Gorlitz of which they took poſſeſſion, and thereby opened a communication with Sileſia, which was one great object that he had in view, that

[d] Smollett, ut ſupra, p. 172, 173. Gent. Mag. vol. XXVII. p. 426.

his

his forces might be able to act in concert, if not united [c]. In the mean time, the army of the empire, commanded by the prince of Saxe-Hildburghauſen, and that of the French, under the prince de Soubiſe, amounting together to more than fifty thouſand men, had now joined, and entered into Saxony. On receiving this information, Frederick immediately ſet out from Luſatia, accompanied by mareſchal Keith, with ſixteen battalions and forty ſquadrons of his troops, and arrived at Dreſden on the twenty-ninth of Auguſt, leaving the reſt of the army in a ſtrong camp, under the prince of Bevern.

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After the king of Pruſſia had quitted his camp at Bernſtædtel, the Auſtrians took poſſeſſion of it on the ſixth of September, and made priſoners a Pruſſian battalion which had been left there. The next day fifteen thouſand Auſtrians attacked two battalions of general Winterfeldt's troops, being part of the prince of Bevern's army, who were poſted on a high ground on the other ſide of the Neiſs, near Hennerſdorff, in the neighbourhood of Gorlitz; and, after being repulſed ſeveral times, at laſt made themſelves maſters of the eminence. The loſs in this action was conſiderable on both ſides; and the loſs of the Pruſſians was augmented by the death of their brave general Winterfeldt, who, as he was leading up ſuccours to the battalions that were engaged,

[c] Lloyd, p. 86. Lond. Chron. ut ſupra.

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received a ſhot from a cannon, of which he died the night following [f].

From Dreſden the king of Pruſſia had proceeded towards Leipſic, his army marching through the great poſt roads near that city, and from thence to Naumbourg. On the road between Naumbourg and Erfurth, he received information of the hoſtile entrance of the Swedes into his dominions, and of the death of general Winterfeldt. He ſeemed much affected with the loſs of that general, who was an officer of very diſtinguiſhed merit, and of great bravery. "I may find reſources," ſaid the king, "againſt "the multitude of my enemies; but how few "men are to be found equal to Winterfeldt!"

Frederick arrived at Erfurth on the thirteenth of September. Of his entrance into that city, the following account was written from thence two days after: 'The king of Pruſſia's 'entry into this city had all the appearance of 'a public entry. A ſquadron of Czekeli's huſſars 'marched before the king, who was on horſeback, 'accompanied by prince Henry, and ſeveral ge'nerals; after which came Rothenburgh's re'giment of dragoons, and the march was cloſed 'by two ſquadrons of huſſars. The populace 'equally admired his Pruſſian majeſty's martial 'air and affable countenance; but what aſto'niſhed us moſt was to ſee his troops in ſo

[f] Smollett, p. 175. Gent. Mag. vol. XXVII. p. 426.

'good

'good a condition, after the forced marches 'they had juſt made s.' Two days after the king's arrival at Erfurth, he went to Gotha, where he dined [y], and ſtaid all night, and returned the next day to his camp. Three days after

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s London Chronicle, vol. II. p. 321.

[y] Of Frederick's arrival at Gotha, the following account has been given: 'From Erfurth his majeſty proceeded to Gotha, 'from whence the Imperialiſts and French retired before him, 'after having diſmounted the cannon, and broken the carriages. 'On the 15th, the Auſtrian and other general officers had agreed 'to dine at court, with the duke of Saxe-Gotha; but they were 'diſappointed; for about noon the firſt diviſion of Pruſſian troops 'appeared, at about three miles diſtance. The Auſtrian picquet 'guards retired, at the approach of a regiment of Pruſſian huſ-'ſars, who came on full gallop; and about half an hour after 'two the king himſelf, attended only by prince Henry, and two 'regiments, one of huſſars and the other of dragoons, came up 'to the city gates, and ſent word by a gentleman, that he was 'come to dine with the duke. He was inſtantly admitted, and 'took the place at table where the Auſtrian generals were to have 'been ſeated, inſiſting that madame de Buchwald ſhould dine 'with him, and entertaining the company with much diſcourſe, 'and great chearfulneſs.' Gent. Mag. vol XXVII. p. 472.

A few days after a rencounter happened near Gotha, between general Seidlitz, who had twelve hundred Pruſſian horſe under his command, and a conſiderable part of the combined army, of which the following account is given: 'The combined army 'was aſſembled near Eiſenach, and intrenched in the defiles of 'the mountains, to wait the attack of the Pruſſians, who ſtill 'continued near Erfurth. But, in the mean time, the com-'manders came to a reſolution of making an attempt to carry 'off Seidlitz's party, which was at Gotha, and conſiſted of 'about twelve hundred men. For this purpoſe they marched 'all

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after an Auſtrian courier was taken, who was carrying a major general's commiſſion to colonel Laudohn, an Auſtrian officer of great merit. Frederick immediately ſent a trumpet with the commiſſion to the colonel, and his compliments to him on his promotion.

'all night, with almoſt all their cavalry, and twenty-three companies of grenadiers, amounting in the whole to between ſeven and eight thouſand men, and arrived about eight in the morning. But Seidlitz, though ſurprized, made a good retreat, not loſing twenty men. The princes Hildburghauſen and Soubiſe, and all the French generals, came to court (at Gotha) at eleven o'clock. The infantry poſſeſſed themſelves of the town, and it was expected that they would have remained here. But Seidlitz, perceiving a fog to ariſe, determined to improve it. He, therefore, retired behind the hills, about a league off, towards Erfurth, where he cauſed one hundred dragoons to diſmount, to repreſent infantry; and divided the reſt of the troops into twenty-two ſmall bodies, which extended themſelves very far; and, by the favour of the fog, appeared like ſo many ſquadrons. At one in the afternoon, he attacked the French with his huſſars only; and news was immediately carried to the French generals, that the whole Pruſſian army was advancing; that they lay behind the hills, and that they were extending towards the left, in order to ſurround them; whereupon they made all poſſible haſte to retreat; and, after having marched all night, were obliged to return the way they came, without having any refreſhment; ſo that in two hours time there was not a Frenchman left. M. Seidlitz purſued them, made forty priſoners, killed about the ſame number, took a great deal of baggage, and was very near taking ſeveral general officers, who had ſtaid too long in the town. This action, though of no great conſequence in itſelf, does great honour to the general.' Memoirs of Frederick III. p. 123, 124. Gent. Mag. ut ſupra.

ON

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On the approach of the king of Pruſſia to Erfurth, the combined army of the empire, and of the French under the prince de Soubiſe, which was aſſembled in the neighbourhood of that city, retired from thence, and retreated as far as the hills of Eiſenach. Frederick followed them, with a view to give them battle; but he found them ſo advantageouſly poſted, that it was not adviſeable to attack them. As the combined army declined coming to an action, the king reſolved to fall back on the Saala, as well to procure ſubſiſtence for his army with the more eaſe, as to be at hand to ſuſtain a detachment, which he propoſed ſending under prince Ferdinand to cover Halberſtadt and the neighbouring country, againſt the incurſions of the light troops of the French. For after the convention of Cloſter-Seven, the French army which had been under the command of the mareſchal d'Etrées, but which was now commanded by the duke de Richelieu, was at liberty to act againſt the king of Pruſſia. The French troops, therefore, had entered the territories of Halberſtadt and Magdeburgh, and raiſed contributions upon the inhabitants. A detachment was alſo ſent by Frederick, to be ſtationed between the Moldau and the Elbe, to cover that part of Saxony and Brandenburgh. And as the king could not bring the combined army to an action, he retired firſt to Buttelſtadt, and from thence

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thence to Naumbourg, where he arrived on the thirteenth of October [h].

Prince Charles of Lorrain, obſerving that the Pruſſian forces were ſeparated at a great diſtance, and that the road into Brandenburgh was open, reſolved to ſend a conſiderable detachment to Berlin; and, to cover this expedition, another large body of troops, under general Marſchal, was ſent upon the Elſter [i]. It was general Haddick, who, with eight thouſand Auſtrians, entered Brandenburgh; and, on the ſixteenth of October, arrived at Berlin. He demanded a contribution of ſix hundred thouſand crowns, but contented himſelf with two hundred and ten thouſand. The Auſtrians alſo pillaged part of the ſuburbs, but afterwards retreated with ſome precipitation, on receiving information of the approach of prince Maurice of Anhalt-Deſſau. That general arrived at Berlin, with a large body of Pruſſian troops, the day after the Auſtrians had quitted it. The queen and royal family of Pruſſia had previouſly removed to Magdeburgh; and the moſt valuable records were ſent to the fortreſs of Spandau.

About the ſame time, as well as in other parts of the preſent year, heavy exactions were impoſed by the king of Pruſſia on the people

[h] Lloyd's Hiſt. of the War in Germany, p. 92.

[i] Id. ibid.

of

of Saxony, and particularly on the inhabitants of Dreſden [z] and Leipſic [A]. In the latter city CHAP. XXIII. A. D. 1757.

[z] Of ſome of the king of Pruſſia's exactions at Dreſden, this year, the following accounts appeared in the publications of the times:

'DRESDEN, Sept. 7. The king of Pruſſia, before he left 'our neighbourhood, demanded from this city an extraordinary 'contribution, to defray the expences of PROTECTING AND 'DEFENDING SAXONY.'

'The circle of Miſnia hath received orders to lay up an im-'menſe quantity of forage and grain, for the ſubſiſtence of the 'Pruſſian troops, during the enſuing winter.' London Chron. vol. II. p. 278.

'DRESDEN, Oct. 12. M. de Rezow, intendant-general of 'the Pruſſian army, has, in his majeſty's name, required the de-'puties of the ſtates, and nobility and gentry of this electo-'rate, to pay, in eight days, the ſum of 600,000 crowns, 'demanded of them by way of free gift, on pain of military 'execution, in all places where the Pruſſians are quartered.' Ibid. p. 397.

[A] The following accounts were publiſhed at the time, relative to ſome of the impoſitions on the inhabitants of Leipſic:

'LEIPSIC, Oct. 11. Yeſterday thoſe families who could 'not furniſh their quota of the 300,000 crowns, lately demanded 'of this city by the king of Pruſſia, were ſubjected to a rigor-'ous military execution. Officers followed by ſubalterns, 'drummers, and ſoldiers, diſperſed themſelves in their houſes, 'took poſſeſſion of the beſt apartments, called for victuals and 'drink, and took what they liked. In ſhort they live at diſ-'cretion. This is not all. A demand is juſt now made of 200 'recruits, or an hundred crowns for each man that ſhall be 'wanting to complete that number. M. Joecher, one of the 'profeſſors of our univerſity, a venerable old man, is taken up,

'and

P. I. city the Pruſſian commandant had demanded, by order of the king his maſter, three hundred thouſand crowns. The inhabitants in vain repreſented, that this was a far greater ſum than it was then in their power to raiſe. The ſhort time allowed them to furniſh their contingents being expired, and all their efforts to comply with this demand having proved ineffectual, they were ſubjected to the rigours of military execution; in conſequence of which their houſes were occupied by the ſoldiery, who ſeized upon the beſt apartments, and lived at diſcretion. Such was the ſituation of this diſtreſſed city, when, on the

'and ſent priſoner to the caſtle. By what means he had incurred the diſpleaſure of the Pruſſians, we are wholly ignorant.' Lond. Chron. vol. II. p. 397.

'LEIPSIC, Oct 26. NAUMBOURG, where the king of Pruſſia has fixed his head-quarters, has been taxed at 100,000 crowns; and being unable to raiſe that ſum, the Pruſſians carried away with them hoſtages for the ſecurity of the payment thereof.

'When the king of Pruſſia mitigated the contribution demanded of this city, (Leipſic) it was expected, that the hoſtages ſent to Magdeburgh would be releaſed; and our merchants refuſed to draw bills, as they have promiſed on London and Amſterdam, till orders ſhould be given for that purpoſe. But they have been told, that the hoſtages will not be releaſed, till advice be received that the bills are accepted. We alſo expected, that the military execution would ceaſe. But major-general Hauſſen, the governor, has continued it in ſeveral houſes in the city and ſuburbs. In ſome there are thirty ſoldiers, and in ſome in the ſuburbs ſixty, beſides ſervants and horſes.' Ibid. p. 442.

fifteenth

fifteenth of October, an expreſs arrived, with advice that his Pruſſian majeſty would himſelf be ſoon there. He accordingly arrived ſhortly after, attended by his life-guards. A rumour was at the ſame time ſpread, that the city would be delivered up to pillage, which threw the inhabitants into the utmoſt conſternation. Their fears, however, were in that reſpect abated, by a declaration which was made by Frederick, that he was willing to ſpare the place, upon condition that half the ſum required ſhould be immediately paid. All that could be done was to collect among the merchants, traders, and others, fifty thouſand crowns; bills of exchange were drawn upon Amſterdam and London for ſeventy thouſand crowns; and hoſtages were given, by way of ſecurity for the payment of thirty thouſand more, within a ſtipulated time[k]. But, after this, other hardſhips ſtill continued to be impoſed upon the inhabitants [B]; and it appears, that even the accompt-books of the merchants were ſeized,

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[k] Smollett, p. 177, 178. Lond. Chron. vol. II. p. 417. 442.

[B] In an account from Leipſic, dated the day after the king's arrival there, is the following paſſage: 'Though the military 'execution has ceaſed, we are not delivered from our other 'calamities. A new one is juſt come upon us, by the arrival 'of a large body of troops. Some houſes have from thirty to 'ſixty men quartered upon them, for whom they muſt find pro'viſions, fewel, and two groſches per diem.' Lond. Chron. vol. II. p. 417.

and

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and detained for ſome time, in order to aſcertain their property and credit.

As Frederick at this period underwent great fatigue, both of body and mind, it is ſaid to have made a conſiderable alteration in his appearance. This was particularly noticed in a letter written and printed about this time, in which were the following paſſages: 'Many 'perſons, who ſaw the king of Pruſſia, when 'he paſſed lately through Leipſic, cannot expreſs how much he is altered. They ſay he 'is ſo much worn away, that they ſcarcely 'knew him. This, indeed, is not to be wondered at. He has not a body of iron, like 'Charles XII. and he endures as great fatigues 'as he did. He is as much on horſeback as 'Charles was, and often lies upon the ground.' '—' Add likewiſe ſome domeſtic uneaſineſſes. 'The death of the queen-mother gave him infinite concern [c]; and at preſent there is a 'difference between him and the prince of 'Pruſſia, which cannot be agreeable. They 'did not ſee one another when the king was 'lately at Leipſic [1].'

[c] His mother, the queen-dowager, died on the 28th of June, 1757, at the palace of Monbijou, in the ſeventy-firſt year of her age. The prince of Pruſſia died at Orangebourg, on the 12th of June, 1758, aged thirty-ſix.

[1] Annual Regiſter, vol. I. p. 20, 21. London Chron. vol. II. p. 436.

AFTER

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After the king of Pruſſia quitted Leipſic, he committed the defence of that city to mareſchal Keith, with a garriſon of ſeven or eight thouſand men. But before this ſome detachments of Auſtrian troops had approached towards Dreſden [D], and appeared diſpoſed to attack that city. They did not, however, make any regular attempt upon it; but the combined army of the empire, and of France, completely inveſted Leipſic [E]; and ſent a ſummons

[D] The approach of the Auſtrians towards Dreſden at this period, occaſioned much diſtreſs to the inhabitants, as appears from the following account, publiſhed at the time: 'DRESDEN, Sept. 14, 1757. Major-general Schmettau and colonel Finck are very aſſiduous in putting this place into a good poſture of defence. Cannon have been placed on the terraces of count Bruhl's gardens, which adjoin to the ramparts, in order to hinder any rafts or barges from coming down the river. With the ſame view a large boom is laid acroſs it. The walls of all the gardens without the New Town have been thrown down, and thoſe who had country houſes there have been deſired to remove their moſt valuable effects, becauſe the houſes are to be razed, that they may not ſerve to cover the Auſtrians in caſe of a ſiege. The troops in garriſon here amount to more than 10,000 men, by the great number of ſick and wounded ſoldiers that are now able to do duty. A great number, both of the garriſon, and of the inhabitants, are, however, ill of fevers, pleuriſies, and dyſenteries, which for a month paſt have been very rife and very fatal. That the ſick belonging to the garriſon may be better accommodated, three hundred of them have been removed to the ſpacious apartments in count Bruhl's palace, which is at preſent unoccupied.' Lond. Chron. vol. II. p. 301.

[E] Of the damage which was done to the city of Leipſic at this period, and the hardſhips ſuffered by the inhabitants, ſome idea

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ſummons to mareſchal Keith to ſurrender the city. The mareſchal replied, "That his "Pruſſian majeſty having charged him to de- "fend the city to the laſt extremity, he "ſhould obey his orders." He alſo ſent for the principal magiſtrates of Leipſic and addreſſed them in the following terms. 'I ſent for you, 'gentlemen, to inform you, that the prince of 'Saxe-Hildburghauſen has ſent me a ſummons 'to deliver up the city to him; to which I am 'not at all diſpoſed. He threatens, in caſe of

idea may be formed from the following account, publiſhed at the time: 'LEIPSIC, Oct 26, 1757. Mareſchal Keith, who has 'been to reconnoitre the ſituation of the combined army, has 'been buſy theſe three days paſt, in preparing to defend this city 'till the laſt extremity. Some of the gates are to be walled up, 'and deep ditches are dug at proper diſtances without the walls, 'in order to render the ground impracticable for the encampment 'of the enemy's troops. Diſpoſitions of the like nature are mak- 'ing in all the avenues of this city. The fine gardens round 'the town, which rivalled thoſe of Holland, are ſacrificed on 'this occaſion. All is deſtroyed, pulled down, or overturned; 'and the fruit of many years expence and culture, ruined in a 'moment. The price of proviſions, particularly bread, which 'was high before, is riſen. Every thing is dear in proportion.' ---The proviſions that have been laid up, for ſome months paſt, 'are viſibly diminiſhed by the prodigious conſumption made by 'a numerous garriſon, as well as by the inhabitants; though 'indeed the latter are conſiderably leſſened, many having re- 'tired to other places. The houſes in which the troops are 'quartered, and none are exempted from that burden, are full 'to the garrets; and the troops occupy the beſt apartments, 'thoſe to the ſtreets, that the officers and ſoldiers may the more 'readily receive their orders.' Lond. Chron. vol. II. p. 473.

'refuſal,

'refuſal, to come to extremities. He will then ſet me an example to act in the ſame manner; and to him you muſt impute all the calamities to which your city will be expoſed. If you would prevent them, I would adviſe you to go to him, and engage him to ſpare the city, out of regard to you and the inhabitants; becauſe on the firſt advice I receive, that the troops of the empire and of France are advancing to attack me, I ſhall begin to ſet fire to the ſuburbs; and if that be not ſufficient to oblige the enemy to deſiſt from their enterprize, I will go farther, and not ſpare even the city itſelf. I ſhall be extremely ſorry to proceed to that length. Neceſſity alone can force me to it[m].'

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In conſequence of this declaration of mareſchal Keith, a deputation of the magiſtrates of Leipſic was ſent to the prince of Saxe-Hildburghauſen; who told them, 'That he would 'ſpare the electorate of Saxony as much as he 'poſſibly could, and particularly the city of 'Leipſic, and that he would not bombard it. 'But that he nevertheleſs hoped, to force the 'Pruſſian garriſon to abandon it, or to ſurrender themſelves priſoners of war.' It was ſaid, that the prince alſo declared, that if the Pruſſians executed their threat of burning the ſuburbs, or the city of Leipſic, he would take

[m] Lond. Chronicle, vol. II. p. 473.

revenge

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[a] Lond. Chron. vol. II. p. 473.

CHAP.

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Critical ſtate of the affairs of the king of Pruſſia at the preſent period.—He is reconciled to Voltaire, and continues to correſpond with him.—Obtains a ſignal victory over the combined army of the empire, and the French at Roſbach.—The Hanoverians reſume their arms, notwithſtanding the convention of Cloſter-Seven.—Battle of Breſlaw.—Battle of Liſſa.—End of the campaign of 1757.

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THE affairs of the king of Pruſſia were at this period in a ſituation extremely critical. The Ruſſians were yet in poſſeſſion of Memel; and the Auſtrians had even entered his capital, and levied contributions on the inhabitants. Beſides what he had farther to apprehend from the Ruſſians and the Swedes, the French army, under the command of the duke de Richelieu, which conſiſted of eighty battalions, and one hundred ſquadrons, had entered Halberſtadt, and levied contributions on his ſubjects in that province. The combined army of the empire, and of France, under the command of the prince of Saxe-Hildburghauſen, and the prince de Soubiſe, were in Saxony, and at but a ſmall diſtance from his own dominions. A great army of Auſtrians and Hungarians, under prince Charles of Lorrain,

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Lorrain, aſſiſted by mareſchal Daun and general Nadaſti, had entered Sileſia, in ſpite of the efforts of the prince of Bevern, and threatened an entire conqueſt of that province.

SURROUNDED by ſo many enemies, Voltaire tells us, that the king had formed a deſign to kill himſelf[a]; and he has given part of a poetical epiſtle, written by Frederick about this time to the marquis D'Argens, in which he intimated ſuch a deſign [F]. But from the firmneſs

[a] Memoires de Voltaire, p. 156.

[F] In this epiſtle the king expreſſes himſelf as a materialiſt, ſpeaks with approbation of the ſyſtem of Epicurus, and declares his diſbelief of the doctrine of a future ſtate. Similar ſentiments are avowed in ſome of his other pieces; and particularly in his *Epiſtle to mareſchal Keith*, written in imitation of the third book of Lucretius, *ſur les vaines terreurs de la mort, et les frayeurs d'une autre vie*, publiſhed in the firſt volume of the OEUVRES MELEES DU PHILOSOPHE DE SANS-SOUCI, p. 221—232. In this poem, which is one of the king's longeſt pieces, and the great deſign of which is to prove, that man is a being wholly material, and that his being terminates with his death, are the following lines:

De l'avenir, cher Keith, jugeons par le paſſé:
Comme avant que je fuſſe il n'avait point penſé,
De même après ma mort, quand toutes mes parties
Par la corruption ſeront anéanties,
Par un même deſtin il ne penſera plus:
Non, rien n'eſt plus certain, ſoyons en convaincus,
Dès que nous finiſſons, notre ame eſt éclipſée.

It was to this epiſtle to mareſchal Keith, and to the zeal which the king of Pruſſia manifeſted, in oppoſing the immortality of the

firmneſs which the king of Pruſſia was accuſtomed to manifeſt in adverſity, and in the moſt trying ſituations, it ſeems, as if he had only

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the ſoul, and the doctrine of a future ſtate of retribution, that Mr. Maſon particularly refers in the following lines, in his elegant elegy on the death of lady Coventry:

'Think not the Muſe, whoſe ſober voice you hear,
'Contracts with bigot frown her ſullen brow;
'Caſts round Religion's orb the miſts of fear,
'Or ſhades with horrors, what with ſmiles ſhould glow.

'No; ſhe would warm you with ſeraphic fire,
'Heirs as ye are of heaven's eternal day;
'Would bid you boldly to that heav'n aſpire,
'Not ſink and ſlumber in your cells of clay.

'Know, ye were form'd to range yon azure field,
'In yon æthereal founts of bliſs to lave;
'Force then, ſecure in Faith's protecting ſhield,
'The ſting from death, the vict'ry from the grave.

'Is this the bigot's rant? Away, ye vain,
'Your hopes, your fears, in doubt, in dulneſs ſteep:
'Go ſoothe your ſouls in ſickneſs, grief, or pain,
'With the ſad ſolace of eternal ſleep.

'Yet will I praiſe you, triflers as you are,
'More than thoſe preachers of your fav'rite creed,
'Who proudly ſwell the brazen throat of war,
'Who form the phalanx, bid the battle bleed;

'Nor wiſh for more: who conquer, but to die.
'Hear, Folly, hear; and triumph in the tale:
'Like you, they reaſon; not, like you, enjoy
'The breeze of bliſs, that fills your ſilken ſail.

'On pleaſure's glitt'ring ſtream ye gayly ſteer
'Your little courſe to cold oblivion's ſhore:
'They dare the ſtorm, and, through th' inclement year,
'Stem the rough ſurge, and brave the torrent's roar.

'In

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only talked poetically of putting an end to his life, and that he had not in reality any ſuch ſerious

'Is it for glory? that juſt Fate denies.
'Long muſt the warrior moulder in his ſhroud,
'E'er from her trump the heav'n-breath'd accents riſe,
'That liſt the hero from the fighting crowd.

'Is it his graſp of empire to extend?
'To curb the fury of inſulting foes?
'Ambition, ceaſe; the idle conteſt end:
'Tis but a kingdom thou canſt win or loſe.

'And why muſt murder'd myriads loſe their all,
'(If life be all) why deſolation lour,
'With famiſh'd frown, on this affrighted ball,
'That thou may'ſt flame the meteor of an hour?

'Go, wiſer ye, that flutter life away,
'Crown with the mantling juice the goblet high;
'Weave the light dance, with feſtive freedom gay,
'And live your moment, ſince the next ye die.

'Yet know, vain Sceptics, know, th' Almighty mind,
'Who breath'd on man a portion of his fire,
'Bade his free ſoul, by earth nor time confin'd,
'To heav'n, to immortality aſpire.

'Nor ſhall the pile of hope, his mercy rear'd,
'By vain philoſophy be e'er deſtroy'd.'——

The ideas of the king of Pruſſia concerning the immortality of the ſoul, appear to have been different at different periods of his life. In a letter written by him to M. Suhm, dated June 6, 1736, is the following paſſage: 'The thought alone of your 'death, my dear Suhm, affords to me an argument in proof of 'the immortality of the ſoul. For is it poſſible, that the being 'by which you are actuated; the ſpirit which acts in you with 'ſo much clearneſs, brightneſs, and intelligence; which is ſo 'different from matter and from body; that fine ſoul, endowed 'with

ſerious intention. When a man only talks of killing himſelf in verſe, it is probable that he is not very much in earneſt.

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NOTWITHSTANDING the manner in which a ſeparation had taken place between Frederick and Voltaire, they were afterwards, at leaſt apparently, in a great degree reconciled; and this ſeems to have been chiefly effected by the mediation of the margravine of Bareith, the king's ſiſter, who appears to have been a very amiable and accompliſhed princeſs, and who was a great admirer of Voltaire, and frequently correſponded with him. In 1755, Frederick ſent to Voltaire an opera, which he had made from that writer's tragedy of Merope; and this opera, Voltaire ſays, was, without doubt, the worſt thing that the king ever wrote[b]. From that time they continued again to correſpond together; and Frederick ſent to Voltaire a poetical epiſtle, dated Aug. 9, 1757, in which are the following lines:

'with ſo many ſolid virtues, and agreeable qualities; that noble 'part of yourſelf which renders you the delight of our ſociety; 'is it poſſible, that this ſhould not be immortal? No, cer- 'tainly! I would maintain it, even in a ſolemn argument, if it 'were neceſſary, that if the greateſt part of the world were 'periſhable, and to be annihilated, you, VOLTAIRE, BOI- 'LEAU, NEWTON, WOLFIUS, and ſome other geniuſſes 'of this order, muſt be immortal.' Correſpondance familiére et amicale, tome I. p. 31.

[b] Mémoires de Voltaire, p. 145, 146.

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Croyez que ſi j'étois, VOLTAIRE,
Particulier aujourdhui
Me contentant du néceſſaire,
Je verrois envoler la Fortune légère,
Et m' en mocquerois comme lui.—
Mais notre état nous fait loi,
Il nous oblige, il nous engage
A meſurer notre courage,
Sur ce qu' exige notre emploi.
VOLTAIRE *dans ſon hermitage,*
Dans un pais dont l'héritage
Eſt ſon antique bonne foi,
Peut s' adonner en paix à la vertu du ſage
Dont Platon nous marque la loi.
Pour moi menacé du naufrage,
Je dois, en affrontant l'orage,
Penſer, vivre, et mourir en Roi.

'VOLTAIRE, believe me, were I now
'In private life's calm ſtation plac'd,
'Let Heaven for nature's wants allow,
'With cold indifference would I view
'Changing Fortune's winged haſte,
'And laugh at her caprice, like you.'—
'But from our ſtations we derive
'Unerring precepts how to live,
'And certain deeds each rank calls forth,
'By which is meaſur'd human worth.
'VOLTAIRE, within his private cell
'In realms where antient honeſty
'Is patrimonial property,
'And ſacred freedom loves to dwell,

'Ma

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'May give up all *his* peaceful mind,
'Guided by Plato's deathleſs page,
'In ſilent ſolitude reſign'd
'To the mild virtues of a Sage;
'But I, 'gainſt whom wild whirlwinds wage
'Fierce war with wreck-denouncing wing,
'Muſt be, to face the tempeſt's rage,
'In thought, in life, in death a king [o].'

But it is neceſſary, that I ſhould quit Frederick's poetry, and return to his military tranſactions. The poetry which he compoſed at this period, affords, however, ſufficient evidence, that he poſſeſſed great tranquillity of mind, in ſituations of great danger and difficulty, and that even the tumults of war could not wholly withdraw his attention from the purſuits of literature.

The king of Pruſſia now thought, that the preſent ſtate of his affairs rendered it indiſpenſably neceſſary, that he ſhould endeavour, at all events, to bring to an action the combined army of the empire, and of France. With this view he aſſembled his troops in the neighbourhood of Leipſic. On the thirty-

[o] The whole of the above poetical epiſtle is publiſhed, in the original French, in Dodſley's Collection of Poems, vol. VI. p. 281, 282, edit. 1763, together with an Engliſh tranſlation by John Gilbert Cooper, Eſq.

firſt

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firſt of October, the Pruſſian army began the march, in order to attack the enemy in the quarters. But, on the firſt of Novembe having received advice, that the French a Imperialiſts were retiring on all ſides, Fred rick marched with the vanguard of his arn to Weiſſenfels. That city, which was defend by Bavarians, and troops of the circles, w immediately attacked and forced. The Pruſ ans made three hundred priſoners; but t enemy, to cover their retreat, burnt the brid on the Saala. It then became manifeſt, th the combined army intended to diſpute wi the Pruſſians the paſſage of that river. T troops of the empire encamped on the oppoſ ſide of it, over againſt Weiſſenfels; and poſt themſelves behind enclóſures of vineyards, a in huts, in order to hinder the Pruſſians fro repairing the bridge that had been bur down. They drew a line along the left ba of the river; and mareſchal Keith, who h advanced with the main body of the Pruſſi army to Merſebourg, found that fourte French battalions had burnt the bridge at t place, and taken poſſeſſion of the town, at t ſame time that a French detachment bu the bridge on the Saala, near Halle. Mar chal Keith marched with a detachment Halle, and repaired the bridge there; wh forced the combined troops to evacuate all poſts they had on that river, and to retire Michele. The Pruſſians ſoon repaired

brid

bridges, and croſſed the river at Halle, Merſebourg, and Weiſſenfels. The three columns of the Pruſſian army joined the ſame day at the village of ROSBACH[c]. The French and Imperialiſts, who had abandoned the deſign of defending the banks of the Saala, quitted Merſebourg, and encamped in the neighbourhood.

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THE combined army under the command of the prince of Saxe-Hilburghauſen, and the prince de Soubiſe, amounted to more than fifty thouſand men. The army of the king of Pruſſia did not exceed twenty-two thouſand. On his arrival at ROSBACH, on the third of November, he went to reconnoitre the camp of the enemy; and finding that it might be attacked on the right, he determined to commence an action the next day. Accordingly he made preparations for that purpoſe early in the morning; but when the Pruſſian cavalry arrived at the eminences, from whence the enemy had been reconnoitred the day before, it was found that they had changed the poſition of their camp. It not only faced the Pruſſian army, but was covered in front by a large hollow way. Its right was upon an eminence in a wood, fortified with three redoubts, and barricades of trees. As the combined troops were thus poſted, the king of Pruſſia thought proper to defer the attack; his infantry encamped; and his cavalry alſo retired into the

[c] Entick's Hiſt. of the War, vol. II. p. 452, 453.

camp.

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camp. The enemy, finding that they were not going to be attacked, ſent out of their camp ſome detachments, and made ſome diſcharges of cannon upon the Pruſſian horſe, but with little effect.

THE commanders of the combined army now imagined that the Pruſſian monarch ſuppoſed his own troops to be too much inferior in number to theirs, to render it prudent for him to hazard at that time an action. Elated with this idea, they reſolved to attack him the next morning, and thereby finiſh the campaign; the fatigues of which their troops appeared to be no longer either able or willing to endure [d]. Accordingly about nine in the morning, on the fifth of November, the Pruſſians received intelligence, that the enemy were every where in motion. They likewiſe heard the drums beating the march; and, as the two armies were near to each other, they plainly perceived from their camp, that the Auſtrian and Imperial infantry, which had drawn nearer upon the riſing grounds over-againſt them, was filing off towards their right. The king, however, could not yet form any certain judgment of their real deſign; and he obſerved, that their ſeveral motions were contradictory to each other. At the ſame time that ſome of their infantry were filing off towards their right, a large body of cavalry wheeled round to-

[d] Lloyd's Hiſt. of the War in Germany, vol. I. p. 95.

wards

wards the left, directing its march all along to the rising grounds that surrounded the whole Prussian camp, and which lay in a bottom between the villages of Bederow and Rosbach. Their cavalry were soon after seen to halt, and afterwards to fall back to the right; though some of them still remained where they were, whilst the rest marched back [c]. About two in the afternoon, the doubts of the king of Prussia were cleared up. It then appeared, that the combined army intended to attack him, and that their dispositions were made with a view to surround the Prussian troops, and to open the action by attacking them in the rear. A body of reserve was posted over against Bederow, to fall upon the routed Prussian troops, in case they should be defeated, and to prevent their retiring to Mersebourg, the only retreat which would then have been left them.

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As Frederick now understood what were the intentions of the generals of the combined army, he resolved to anticipate them, and immediately took the necessary steps for proceeding to an action. But before the battle commenced, he is said to have addressed to his troops the following speech:

'My dear friends,

'The hour is come, in which all that is, 'and all that ought to be dear to us, depends 'upon the swords which are now drawn for

[c] Gent. Mag. vol. XXVII. p. 522, from the London Gazette.

the

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'the battle. Time permits me to ſay but 'little; nor is there occaſion to ſay much. 'You know, that there is no labour, no hun-'ger, no cold, no watching, no danger, that 'I have not ſhared with you hitherto; and you 'now ſee me ready to lay down my life with 'you, and for you. All I aſk is, the ſame 'pledge of fidelity and affection that I give. 'And let me add, not as an incitement to your 'courage, but as a teſtimony of my own grati-'tude, that from this hour, till you go into 'winter quarters, your pay ſhall be doubled. 'Acquit yourſelves like men, and put your 'confidence in God[f].' This ſpeech is repreſent-ed to have produced a great effect, and to have been received with loud acclamations.

THE king of Pruſſia obſerved, that the com-bined troops had paſſed his flank, and conti-nued marching towards Merſebourg. He, therefore, ordered his cavalry and artillery to march on the left, behind the hills, and to occupy that near Lunſtadt and Reichertſwer-ben, while the infantry followed with the utmoſt expedition. The generals of the com-bined army, ſeeing the Pruſſians quit their camp with an appearance of precipitation, ſup-poſed that they were retiring: which appeared the more probable, as they could not diſcover any thing of the march, which was concealed

[f] Annual Regiſter, vol. I. p. 22. Entick's Hiſt. of the War, ut ſupra, p. 457, 458.

by

by the hills. Anxious leſt the Pruſſians ſhould eſcape, and they loſe the fruits of their fine diſpoſitions, the French and Imperial generals advanced in great haſte with their cavalry, followed, at a conſiderable diſtance, by their infantry, hoping to overtake the Pruſſian rear-guard; and, by attacking it with vigour, either to deſtroy it, or to force the Pruſſians to a general action. Being arrived near Reichertſwerben, ſome of the Pruſſian horſe appeared on the heights behind the village. The combined troops continued, however, to advance, thinking that ſome of the Pruſſian cavalry were only poſted there to gain time, and to cover the retreat. But this illuſion ſoon vaniſhed. All the Pruſſian horſe were then forming; under the protection of ſome heavy artillery, poſted on the hill. As ſoon as they were formed, Frederick immediately ordered his troops to attack thoſe of the enemy. This they executed with ſuch promptitude and vigour, that they broke them, and drove them back in confuſion to the village of Buſendorff. There they attempted to rally; but the Pruſſians renewed their attack, without giving them time to execute it, broke them again, and ſo effectually, that they quitted the field[s].

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In the mean time, the generals of the combined army endeavoured to form their infantry; but the king of Pruſſia, who had as yet ſix

[s] Lloyd's Hiſt. of the War, ut ſupra, p. 96.

or

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or eight battalions only come up, ordered them inſtantly to advance, and attack the enemy, while they were occupied in forming the line. This was immediately executed; and, being ſupported by the cavalry and artillery, the Pruſſians eaſily broke thoſe few troops which had formed at the head of the columns, and drove them back in confuſion. The prince de Soubiſe did not, however, give up the affair as loſt: the reſerve, conſiſting of five regiments of cavalry, was ordered to advance and ſuſtain the infantry, in order to form the line, if poſſible. But theſe were inſtantly attacked, broken, and driven off the field: upon which the combined infantry, unſupported by its own cavalry, taken in flank by that of the Pruſſians, and expoſed to a heavy fire of the artillery and ſmall arms, were unable to keep their ground, and much leſs to form a line forwards. They, therefore, attempted once more to form it behind, between the village of Buſendorff and the Luſtſchiff, under the protection of ſome French cavalry. But theſe being overpowered, and forced to retire, after a vigorous conteſt, the infantry were likewiſe obliged to quit the field with precipitation [h].

GENERAL LLOYD remarks, that though the king of Pruſſia obſerved the enemy in motion all the morning, he waited with great coolneſs till he diſcovered what their intentions were,

[h] Lloyd, p. 97.

and

and then inſtantly made his diſpoſitions. 'His 'marching behind the hill,' the general ſays, 'was attended with many great advantages. 'That appearance of a flight elated the ſpirits 'of the enemy, ſo as to make them neglect 'the neceſſary precautions. They haſtened ſo 'much, that their army was thrown into ſome 'diſorder while in march; and they were ſo 'perfectly deceived, that they found them-'ſelves, all at once, with the head of their co-'lumns, under the fire of the enemy's line; 'and ſo near, that they could not form their 'troops. The king ſaw this favourable mo-'ment, and ordered his cavalry to attack di-'rectly; and, though ſcarcely any of his in-'fantry was come up, he ordered thoſe few 'battalions to advance, before the enemy 'could make any diſpoſition. One inch of 'ground, or one inſtant of time loſt, would 'have given the enemy time and room to form 'their line. But the king's diſpoſitions were 'ſo exact, and ſo well calculated, that nei-'ther happened; and he was moſt deſervedly 'crowned with victory [i]. CHAP. XXIV. A. D. 1757.

THE action did not laſt more than an hour and a half; at five o'clock in the afternoon the victory was decided; the cannonading ceaſed; and the French and Imperialiſts fled on all ſides [H]. They were purſued by the Pruſſians

[i] Hiſtory of the War in Germany, ut ſupra, p. 105.

[H] Voltaire ſays, 'The battle of ROSBACH will be long 'celebrated. Thirty thouſand French, and twenty thouſand 'Imperialiſts,

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Pruſſians, as long as there was any light by which they could be diſtinguiſhed; ſo that night alone was ſaid to have been the preſervation of that army, which had been ſo formidable in the morning. Early on the following morning, the king of Pruſſia ſet out to purſue them, with all his cavalry, ſupported by four battalions of grenadiers, the infantry following them in two columns. The French and Imperialiſts, who marched all night [1], had paſſed the Unſtrut at Freyburgh, when the Pruſſians arrived on its banks; and as they had burnt the bridge, it became

'Imperialiſts, were ſeen flying, ſhamefully and precipitately, before five battalions, and ſome ſquadrons. The defeats of AGINCOURT, of CRESSY, and of POICTIERS, were not more humiliating.' Mémoires de Voltaire, p. 166.

[1] In a letter written by an officer of the army of the empire, who was preſent at the battle of ROSBACH, and whoſe letter is dated two days after the action, is the following paſſage; 'We have loſt all our baggage and artillery, and at leaſt ten thouſand men. We marched the whole night, and paſſing the river at Freyburgh, arrived at Eckerſberg at ſix o'clock in the morning. At two o'clock in the afternoon the field-mareſchal (the prince of Hildburghauſen) and prince George (of d'Armſtadt) joined us. They had hardly ſat down to dinner, but we perceived the enemy at our heels, who cannonaded us briſkly; and as our army was not got together, nothing was left for us but to retreat. Having again marched all night, we arrived at laſt at Erfurth, where we now are, in want of every thing, though we are rather better off than before. It is now eight days ſince our men have had bread: they have lived upon turnips and radiſhes, which they dug out of the earth.' Entick's Hiſt. of the War, vol. II. p. 462.

neceſſary

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neceſſary to make another, but which was ſpeedily effected. The Pruſſian cavalry paſſed firſt, but could not come up with the enemy till five in the evening, upon the hills of Eckerſberg. It was then too late to force them; and the king, therefore, thought proper to canton his army in the neareſt villages; but his huſſars made themſelves maſters of three hundred waggons of the enemy, laden with baggage [k].

In the battle of Rosbach, the king of Pruſſia gained a moſt ſplendid victory over an army that was much more than double in number to that of his own, and with very little loſs. Not more than three hundred of the Pruſſians are ſaid to have been killed and wounded [K]; while the loſs of the French and Imperialiſts, in killed, wounded, and priſoners, amounted to more than ten thouſand.

[k] Gen. Mag. vol. XXVII. p. 522, from the London Gazette.

[K] Voltaire has exhibited a remarkable inſtance of that inaccuracy reſpecting matters of fact, which not unfrequently occurs in his writings, in the account which he has given in his Memoirs, p. 165, of the battle of Rosbach. He ſays, that he believes prince Henry to have been the only Pruſſian who was hurt on that day. Prince Henry was wounded, as were alſo the generals Seidlitz and Meinecke. Colonel Prignitz was killed. The firſt account of the battle of Rosbach, publiſhed in the London Gazette, ſtated the loſs of the Pruſſians at about five hundred, killed and wounded; but, according to later accounts, the number did not amount to more than three hundred.

Eight

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Eight French generals, ſeveral German generals, and two hundred and fifty officers of different ranks were taken by the Pruſſians [L]; together with ſeventy-two pieces of cannon, fifteen ſtandards, and other military trophies. Three hundred waggons, loaden with wounded ſoldiers of the combined army, were ſent, with moſt of the other priſoners, to Leipſic. General Revel, brother to the duke de Broglio, died of his wounds at Merſebourg, the day after the action. After the battle, Frederick viſited moſt of the wounded French officers; and told them, as a reaſon for his doing this, "that he could not accuſtom himſelf to con-"ſider the French as his enemies."

Soon after the victory obtained by the king of Pruſſia at Roſbach, the Hanoverian troops, who had been diſqualified for taking any active part in the war by the convention of Cloſter-Seven, diſcovered a diſpoſition to reſume their arms. Complaints were made, that the duke de Richelieu had oppreſſed the inhabitants of the electorate of Hanover; that the conditions

[L] It is ſaid, that in the evening of the day on which the battle of Roſbach was fought, the king invited the French general officers, and other officers of diſtinction who were taken priſoners, to ſup with him. But he made an apology for his entertainment, as not ſufficiently magnificent for ſuch reſpectable gueſts. He would have been glad, he told them, to have treated them in a more ſplendid manner; "but really, gentlemen," ſaid he, "I did not expect you ſo ſoon, nor in ſuch large "numbers."

of

of the convention of Cloſter-Seven had been violated; and that the convention itſelf had not been ratified by the court of France. It was required by that court, that the Hanoverian troops ſhould formally engage to deſiſt from all ſervice againſt France and her allies, during the preſent war, and be diſarmed on their return to their own country. This, the French miniſtry affirmed, was the manifeſt deſign of the convention of Cloſter-Seven; but this was denied by the court of London, who maintained, that the convention was only a proviſional armiſtice, intended to pave the way for a negociation, that might terminate in a general peace; and that it was never intended that the Hanoverian troops ſhould lay down their arms. It was likewiſe ſtated, on behalf of the king of Great Britain, as elector of Hanover, that the conduct of the French in that electorate had freed his majeſty from every obligation under which he had been laid by the convention; that in the midſt of the armiſtice hoſtilities had been committed; that the priſoners made by the French before the convention had not been reſtored, according to an expreſs article ſtipulated between the generals, though it had been fulfilled on the part of the electorate, by the immediate releaſe of the French priſoners; that the baillifs of thoſe diſtricts, from which the French troops were excluded by mutual agreement, had been ſummoned, on pain of military execution, to appear before the French commiſſary, and compelled to deliver into his

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hands the public revenue; and that the French had appropriated to themſelves part of thoſe magazines, which, by expreſs agreement, were deſtined for the uſe of the electoral troops; and had ſeized the houſes, revenue, and corn, belonging to the king of England in the city of Bremen, in violation of their engagement to conſider that place as free and neutral.

MEMORIALS were publiſhed in vindication of the conduct of the courts both of France and of Great Britain: but in this ſtate of things the Hanoverians reſumed their arms, under the command of prince Ferdinand of Brunſwick, who had been recommended to that appointment by the king of Pruſſia. A letter was written to that prince by the duke de Richelieu, in which he obſerved, that although for ſome days he had perceived the Hanoverian troops in motion, in order to form themſelves into a body, he could not imagine, that the object of theſe movements was to infringe the convention of neutrality, which had been eſtabliſhed between the duke of Cumberland and himſelf; that he was blinded ſo far by his confidence in the good faith of the king of England, elector of Hanover, and of his ſon, who had ſigned the convention, as to believe that the troops were aſſembled for no other purpoſe, than to be diſtributed into the winter-quarters, which had been aſſigned them by the agreement; but his eyes were at laſt opened, by the repeated advices which he had received from

from all quarters, importing, that the Hanoverians intended to infringe thoſe articles which ought to have been ſacred and inviolable. The duke added, 'The king my maſter 'having been informed of theſe dangerous 'movements, and of the breach of faith in the 'Hanoverians, is ſtill deſirous of giving freſh 'proofs of his moderation, and of his wiſh to 'ſpare the effuſion of blood. It is with this 'view that I have the honour to declare to 'your ſerene highneſs, in the name of his moſt 'Chriſtian majeſty, that I perſiſt in my reſo-'lution of fulfilling exactly all the articles of 'the convention, provided the Hanoverian 'army on its part does the ſame. But I can-'not conceal from your ſerene highneſs, that 'if, contrary to all expectation, it ſhould take 'any equivocal ſtep, and ſtill more if it ſhould 'commit any act of hoſtility, I ſhall then puſh 'matters to the laſt extremity, looking on 'myſelf as authorized to do ſo by the laws of 'war. I will reduce all the palaces, royal 'houſes, and gardens to aſhes. I will ſack all 'the towns and villages, without ſparing the 'ſmalleſt hut. In ſhort, this country ſhall ex-'perience all the horrors of war. I recom-'mend it to your ſerene highneſs to reflect 'upon all this, and not reduce me to the ne-'ceſſity of taking ſteps ſo contrary to the na-'tural humanity of the French nation, and to 'my own perſonal character[1].' This letter was ſeconded by the count de Lynar, the Daniſh

[1] London Magazine, vol. XXVI. p. 610.

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niſh ambaſſador, who, in the name of his maſter, had acted as mediator in concluding the convention of Cloſter-Seven. A very laconic anſwer was returned by prince Ferdinand, the purport of which was, that he would give the duke de Richelieu his anſwer in perſon, at the head of his army.

THE Hanoverian army being now aſſembled at Stade, under the command of prince Ferdinand, he reſolved to exert his utmoſt efforts to drive the French out of the electorate of Hanover. Two thouſand French troops were attacked in the bailiwick of Ebſtorff, and entirely defeated by general Schuylenbourg; and, in a few days after, another action happened upon the river Aller, between two conſiderable bodies of each army, in which the Hanoverians, commanded by general Zaſtrow, remained maſters of the field. Theſe advantages encouraged the Hanoverians, and put them in poſſeſſion of Lunenburgh, Zell, and part of the Brunſwick dominions, which the French were obliged to abandon. But the operations of prince Ferdinand were ſomewhat retarded, by the reſolution of the French officer who commanded the garriſon of Harbourg. When the Hanoverian troops had made themſelves maſters of that town, he retired into the caſtle, which he held out againſt a conſiderable detachment of the allied army, by which it was inveſted. But the fortifications being at length entirely demoliſhed, he ſurrendered upon capitulation.

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pitulation. Prince Ferdinand afterwards proceeded towards Zell, where the duke de Richelieu himſelf had taken poſt; but, at the approach of the Hanoverians, he called in his advanced parties, abandoned ſeveral magazines, and burnt all the farm-houſes and buildings belonging to the ſheep-walks of his Britannick majeſty. He alſo reduced the ſuburbs of Zell to aſhes, after having allowed his men to plunder the houſes, and even ſet fire to the orphan-houſe, in which a great number of helpleſs children are ſaid to have periſhed: but this circumſtance was attributed by the French to accident. When the Hanoverians had advanced within a league of Zell, the two armies began to cannonade each other; the French troops poſted on the right of the Aller burned their magazines, and retired into the town, where they were ſo ſtrongly entrenched, that prince Ferdinand could not attempt the river, the paſſes of which were ſtrongly guarded; and his troops were alſo expoſed to great hardſhips from the ſeverity of the weather. He, therefore, retreated to Ultzen and Lunenburgh, where his army was put into winter quarters, and executed ſeveral ſmall enterprizes by detachments; while the duke de Richelieu fixed his head-quarters in the city of Hanover, his cantonments extending as far as Zell, in the neighbourhood of which many ſkirmiſhes were fought with various ſucceſs. The emperor of Germany, and his conſort the empreſs-queen,

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queen, having received information of the operations of the Hanoverian troops, which they conſidered as infractions of the convention of Cloſter-Seven, ſent an intimation to the baron de Steinberg, miniſter from the king of Great Britain as elector of Hanover, that he ſhould no more appear at court, nor confer with their miniſters, and that his reſidence at Vienna was not agreeable; and accordingly he ſoon after quitted that city.

THE reſumption of their arms by the Hanoverians was an event favourable to the king of Pruſſia, though not beneficial either to Great Britain, or to the electorate of Hanover [M]. But before the events that I have juſt re-

[M] Dr. Smollett remarks, that if the French had been allowed to keep Hanover as a depoſit, agreeably to what they alleged was the intention of the convention of Cloſter-Seven, 'the kingdom of Great Britain would have ſaved about twenty millions of money, together with the lives of her beſt ſoldiers; and Weſtphalia would have continued to enjoy all the bleſſings of ſecurity and peace. But the king of England's tenderneſs for Hanover was one of the chief ſources of the misfortunes which befel that electorate. He could not bear the thoughts of ſeeing it, even for a ſeaſon, in the hands of the enemy; and his own ſentiments in this particular were reinforced by the preſſing remonſtrances of the Pruſſian monarch, whom, at this juncture, he thought it dangerous to diſoblige.' Hiſt. of England, from the Revolution, vol. IV. p. 199, 200. The ſame writer alſo obſerves, that the king of Pruſſia recommended prince Ferdinand of Brunſwick to the command of the Hanoverians, 'becauſe he knew, that he could depend upon his concurring with all his meaſures, in conducting the operations of the Britiſh army.' Ib. p. 201.

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lated, the Auſtrian army had made a conſider- CHAP XXIV. A. D. 1757.
able progreſs in the province of Sileſia; and a large detachment of Auſtrian troops, under the command of count Nadaſti, had inveſted Schweidnitz, and opened the trenches before it. The Pruſſian garriſon was commanded by general de la Motte Fouquet; and the Pruſſians made a ſally, in which they killed, wounded, and took priſoners, eight hundred of the beſiegers, and did ſome damage to their works. But, on the ſixth of November, the Auſtrians began to cannonade the city very furiouſly; and, on the eleventh of that month, they made themſelves maſters of the ramparts by aſſault; which obliged the governor to capitulate the next morning. The garriſon, conſiſting of four generals, and about ſix thouſand men, were made priſoners of war. A vaſt quantity of proviſions, artillery, and ſtores, fell into the hands of the Auſtrians, together with three hundred thouſand florins [m].

After the ſurrender of Schweidnitz, general Nadaſti, leaving in it a ſufficient garriſon, marched with the remainder of his troops, and joined the main army of the Auſtrians, under the command of prince Charles of Lorrain and mareſchal Daun, who had inveſted Breſlaw on the ſide of the Oder, whilſt the prince of Bevern defended it on the right, where he was ſtrongly encamped, with the

[m] Lloyd's Hiſt. of the War in Germany, ut ſupra, p. 112.

army

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army under his command, under the cannon of the city. The whole army of the Auſtrians being thus united, and intelligence having arrived, that the king of Pruſſia was advancing to the relief of the prince of Bevern, it was immediately reſolved to attack that Pruſſian general in his intrenchments. Accordingly, on the twenty-ſecond of November, about nine in the morning, the Auſtrians began a moſt furious diſcharge of their cannon, forty of which were twenty-four pounders [n]; and at noon the Pruſſian intrenchments were ſtormed in every quarter. Twice were the Auſtrians repulſed with great ſlaughter; but at the third attack the Pruſſians being overpowered by numbers and aſſailed on all ſides, began to loſe ground, and were forced to retire from one entrenchment to another. In this extremity, night coming on, the prince of Bevern, being apprehenſive that his entrenchments would be entirely forced, and that he ſhould then be totally defeated, thought proper to retreat. He retired, with the greateſt part of his army, to an eminence on the banks of the Oder; whilſt the remainder of his troops threw themſelves into Breſlaw.

THE Auſtrian army was more than double in number to that of the Pruſſians under the prince of Bevern; and the loſs of the Auſtrians, in

[n] London Magazine, vol. XXVI. p. 607, from the London Gazette.

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the battle of BRESLAW, amounted to about ſix thouſand, killed, wounded, and miſſing. The loſs of the Pruſſians muſt alſo have been conſiderable; but general Lloyd remarks [o], that of their loſs no account appeared; and it is ſuppoſed to have been much inferior to that of the Auſtrians. On their ſide general Wurben was killed; and one lieutenant-general, and four major-generals, were wounded. On the ſide of the Pruſſians one general was killed; and prince Francis of Brunſwick, the prince of Wurtemberg, and general Schultz, were wounded [p].

Two days after the battle, the prince of Bevern rode out early in the morning, attended only by a ſingle ſervant, to reconnoitre the enemy, when he fell in among a party of Croats, by whom he was taken priſoner [N]. The command

[o] Hiſt. of the War, ut ſupra, p. 120.

[p] London Magazine, vol. XXVI. p. 607, 608, from the London Gazette.

[N] The following account is given of the prince of Bevern being taken priſoner, in an extract of a letter from the Imperial army near Breſlaw, publiſhed in the London Gazette of Dec. 13. 1757. 'On the 24th (of November) Te Deum was ſung. 'The ſame day the prince of Bevern, commander in chief of 'the Pruſſian army, having been to reconnoitre us, had the 'misfortune to fall into the hands of a body of Croats, who 'were in general Beck's advanced poſts. He is made priſoner 'of war, and carried to Stablowitz, where mareſchal Daun's 'quarters formerly were, and is guarded by a lieutenant and 'thirty

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mand of the Pruſſian troops then devolved upon general Kyow; but, on the twenty-fifth of November, the city of Breſlaw ſurtendered to the Auſtrians by capitulation. The garriſon, commanded by general Leſtewitz, was permitted to march out with all military honours.

IMMEDIATELY after the battle of Roſbach the king of Pruſſia reſolved to march into Sileſia, in order to oppoſe the progreſs of the Auſtrians. Accordingly he ſet out from Leipſic on the twelfth of November, at the head of nineteen battalions, and twenty-eight ſquadrons [q]; and whilſt he marched towards Luſatia, mareſchal Keith entered Bohemia throug

' thirty men. He is treated with every mark of diſtinction ' that his birth, character, and eminent qualities deſerve. You ' may eaſily imagine, that we are not ſorry for this accident; ' for he cuts us out a great deal of work.' London Mag. vol. XXVI. p 607, 608.

General Lloyd ſays, that the prince of Bevern was releaſed in 1758 without any ranſom, on account of his being ſomewhat related to the empreſs-queen: but other accounts ſay, that he was releaſed in exchange for one of the Auſtrian generals. The king of Pruſſia having afterwards expreſſed ſome diſapprobation of his conduct, he retired to Stettin, of which he was governor and continued there till 1762, when he was called to the army in Sileſia, and had a corps entruſted to his command, while the king was beſieging Schweidnitz. This prince was eſteemed an able general: he was wounded at the battle of Molwitz; and diſtinguiſhed himſelf in the battles of Hohen Friedberg, Lowoſitz, and Prague.

[q] Account of the progreſs of the Pruſſian army, and of the battle of Liſſa, ſuppoſed to be written by the king himſelf, publiſhed in the London Chronicle, vol. II. p. 626.

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the defile of Paſsberg, with a view to draw the Auſtrian general Marſchal, then in Luſatia, into Bohemia, and thereby to facilitate the march of the king. At Leutmeritz, mareſchal Keith ſeized a conſiderable magazine belonging to the Auſtrians; he then ſet fire to the bridge over the Elbe, and marched on towards Prague; but after a ſhort ſtay in Bohemia, he marched back again into Saxony.

The king arrived at Torgau on the fourteenth of the month; and on the ſeventeenth he paſſed the river at Groſſen-hayn, where he firſt heard of the ſurrender of Schweidnitz. On the twenty-fourth, he arrived at Naumbourg upon the Queiſs; and there he received information of the battle of Breſlaw. He then made forced marches; and, on the twenty eighth arrived at Parchwitz near the Oder, where his vanguard ſurprized a detachment of eleven hundred Auſtrians, fifty of which were killed, and one hundred and fifty made priſoners. The troops, which had been under the command of the prince of Bevern, had croſſed the Oder at Glogau, and joined the king on the ſecond of December. It is alſo ſaid, that about this time Frederick was joined by a conſiderable part of the late garriſon of Schweidnitz, which had riſen upon the eſcort by which they were guarded, and diſperſed them; and, without knowing the ſituation of the king, had the good fortune to meet him on his march [r].

[r] Annual Regiſter, vol. I. p. 24. Smollett, p. 885. Entick's Hiſt. of the War, vol. III. p. 6.

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On the fourth of December, Frederick arrived at Neumarck, where was a conſiderable Auſtrian magazine, guarded by two regiments of Croats, who retired to a riſing ground. The king ordered his huſſars to ſurround them, and ſent a trumpet to ſummon them to ſurrender themſelves priſoners of war. Upon their refuſal, the huſſars of Ziethen fell upon them ſabre in hand, and ſome hundreds of them being cut in pieces, the reſt threw down their arms*. Frederick now received information, that prince Charles of Lorrain, and mareſchal Daun, had left Breſlaw; that the Auſtrian army had advanced beyond Lissa; and that their right wing was covered by the village of Niepern, and their left by that of Golau, with the rivulet of Schweidnitz in their rear. He immediately reſolved to attack them; and accordingly gave orders to his army to march for that purpoſe at five the next morning, which was the fifth of December, juſt one month from the day on which he had gained his victory at Roſbach.

At day-break, a part of the Auſtrian cavalry were deſcried on a hill, about half a league from Neumarck. They had ſpread themſelves ſo much that they were at firſt ſuppoſed to be the whole Auſtrian army; but, upon a nearer approach, they were diſcovered to be only two regiments of huſſars, and ſome Saxon dragoons, under the command of lieutenant-gene-

* London Mag. vol. XXVI. p 609.

ral

ral count Noſtitz. They were attacked by the Pruſſian vanguard, who drove them back to their own camp, and took ſix officers, and about five hundred men priſoners. CHAP. XXIV. A. D. 1757.

THE Auſtrian army was very ſtrongly poſted, in the village of LEUTHEN, upon a fine plain, with ſome adjacent eminences well furniſhed with artillery, and fortified both on the right and left by ſtrong batteries of cannon. The ground in their front was interſected by many cauſeways; and to make the whole more impracticable, the Auſtrians had felled great numbers of trees, and ſcattered them in the way. The Auſtrian army alſo amounted to more than ſeventy thouſand men, while that of the king of Pruſſia did not exceed thirty-ſix thouſand.

It was about one o'clock at noon when the battle commenced. The attack began in a wood, where the Auſtrians had poſted ſome infantry, but which were forced by the Pruſſians. Some brigades of Auſtrian infantry were alſo poſted on an eminence that lay behind the wood; but theſe were alſo attacked by the Pruſſians, and routed after an obſtinate reſiſtance. The Auſtrian generals were deceived by the rapid motions of the king of Pruſſia towards their right wing, againſt which he had made great demonſtrations, and which induced them to collect their chief ſtrength thither: whilſt he, being concealed by certain heights, which they had neglected to occupy, brought

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brought his whole force, by a maſterly ſtroke of generalſhip, to bear upon their left, againſt which he meditated his real attack [t]. General Lloyd remarks, that, 'the king's conduct was 'founded on the moſt ſublime principles of 'war. Though his army was much inferior to 'that of the enemy, yet, by dint of ſuperior 'manœuvres, he brought more men into ac-'tion, at the point attacked, than they; which 'muſt be deciſive, when the troops are nearly 'equal in goodneſs [u].'

At the beginning of the action, it was almoſt impoſſible for the Pruſſian cavalry to act, on account of the impediments which the Auſtrians had thrown in their way; but by degrees theſe obſtructions were ſo far overcome, that the Pruſſian cavalry acted with great effect; and the judicious diſpoſitions of the king greatly contributed to the defeat of the Auſtrians. When he firſt formed his army, he had placed four battalions behind the cavalry of his right wing, foreſeeing that general Nadaſti, who was placed with a corps de reſerve on the enemy's left, deſigned to take him in flank. It happened as he had foreſeen; that general's horſe attacked the king's right wing with great fury; but he was received with ſo ſevere a fire from the four battalions, that he was obliged to re-

[t] Hiſt. of Modern Europe, vol. V. p. 299, 300.

[u] Hiſt. of the War in Germany, vol. I. p. 139.

tire

tire in diſorder [w]. The Auſtrians gave way on all ſides, but at ſome diſtance recovered themſelves, and rallied three times, animated by their officers, and by the ſuperiority of their numbers. They made a great ſtand at the village of LEUTHEN, which was defended on all ſides by entrenchments and redoubts; and they maintained the battle at this place about an hour longer. But they were at length compelled to give up the conteſt, to yield to the ſuperior valour of the Pruſſians, and to retire with precipitation. They were purſued by the Pruſſian cavalry and huſſars great part of the night; and the king himſelf purſued them as far as LISSA, where his army ſpent the night under arms; and from this place the battle has been generally denominated [o].

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[w] Annual Regiſter, vol. I. p. 25.

[o] Voltaire ſays, 'The king of Pruſſia, who had beaten our 'army in Thuringia, at Roſbach, ſet out next to fight the 'Auſtrian army at ſixty leagues diſtance. The French might 'then ſtill have entered Saxony. The conquerors had marched 'elſewhere, and there was nothing to oppoſe them. But they 'had thrown away their arms, and loſt their cannon, ammuni-'tion, and proviſions, and above all, their underſtanding. 'They were diſperſed, and their remains were with difficulty 'collected. A month afterwards, and on the ſame day of the 'month, Frederick gained a ſtill more ſignal, and better con-'teſted victory, over the Auſtrian army near Breſlaw. He re-'took Breſlaw, with fifteen thouſand priſoners, and the reſt of 'Sileſia ſoon ſubmitted to him. Guſtavus Adolphus never per-'formed ſuch acts. We muſt, therefore, pardon him his poe-

try,

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THE loſs of the Auſtrians, in killed and wounded, at the battle of LISSA, is computed to have amounted to more than ten thouſand; while that of the Pruſſians did not exceed three thouſand. The number of Auſtrians taken priſoners in the battle, and in the purſuit, amounted to twenty-one thouſand five hundred men. Among the priſoners were about three hundred officers. One hundred and fifty pieces of cannon alſo fell into the hands of the Pruſſians, together with many military trophies, and four thouſand waggons, laden with baggage and ammunition. In the purſuit, the confuſion of the Auſtrians became ſo great, that a cornet of general Ziethen's regiment, with a party of ten Pruſſians only, tooked, diſarmed, and brought priſoners to the head-quarters, one hundred Auſtrians; for which gallant action Frederick promoted the cornet to the rank of a captain, and conferred on him the order of merit [x].

AFTER this great victory, the king of Pruſſia marched to Breſlaw, and immediately opened the trenches before that city. On the ſixteenth of December, a bomb having fallen into a ma-

'try, his pleaſantries, his little malice, and even his ſins 'againſt the female ſex. All the faults of the man vaniſh be-'fore the glory of the hero.' Mémoires de Voltaire, p. 172, 173.

[x] Entick's Hiſt. of the War, vol. III. p. 11.

gazine

gazine of powder, the attacked baſtion, and near half the adjoining curtain was blown up, and above eight hundred of the Auſtrians. This misfortune obliged the commandant to capitulate on the twentieth of the month. The garriſon, conſiſting of above ſeventeen thouſand men, including thirteen general officers, and the ſick and wounded at the two laſt battles, were made priſoners of war [y]. The blockade of Schweidnitz was alſo formed, as cloſely as the extreme ſeverity of the weather [p] would permit; whilſt the Pruſſian parties not only re-

[y] Lloyd's Hiſt. of the War, ut ſupra, p. 135.

[p] Dr. Smollett obſerves, that 'ſuch was the rigour of the 'ſeaſon, that ſome hundreds of the ſentinels dropped down dead 'on their ſeveral poſts, unable to ſuſtain the ſeverity of the cold. 'The Germans lie under the general reproach of paying very 'little regard to the lives of their ſoldiers; and, indeed, this 'practice of winter-campaigns, in ſuch a cold country, beſpeaks 'very little regard to the dictates of humanity.' Hiſt. ut ſupra, p. 189.

Though the king of Pruſſia himſelf acknowledges, in his "Military Inſtructions for the Generals of his Army," that he had made more winter-campaigns than any other general of his own time, he yet makes the following remarks relative to ſuch campaigns. 'Winter-campaigns are the ruin of your troops, 'not only on account of the ſickneſs they occaſion, but becauſe, 'from your continual motion, they can neither be clothed nor 'recruited. The ſame want of repoſe, prevents all your carri-'ages, &c. from being properly repaired, and ends in their total 'deſtruction. Nothing can be more certain, than that the beſt 'army in the world cannot long ſupport ſuch campaigns; for 'which reaſon, winter expeditions ought by all means to be 'avoided: not but there is a poſſibility of a general being ſo circum-

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poſſeſſed thoſe parts of Sileſia which belonged to the king, but penetrating into the Auſtrian diviſion, reduced Jagerndorff, Troppau, and Teſchen, and left to the empreſs-queen, excepting Schweidnitz, which was now beſieged, not the leaſt footing in that country, in which, leſs than a month before, her dominion was ſuppoſed to be perfectly re-eſtabliſhed [1].

THUS ended the active and memorable campaign of 1757, in which Frederick, notwithſtanding his defeat at Kolin, and the other misfortunes which he met with, had gained three ſignal and important victories, that of PRAGUE, of ROSBACH, and of LISSA; and in each of theſe battles he had himſelf commanded in perſon. It was a year diſtinguiſhed by great events; and by ſtriking revolutions of fortune; and in which the great power of the king of Pruſſia's enemies had been remarkably either baffled, or defeated. The numerous armies which had been brought againſt him appeared almoſt annihilated; and the rapidity with which he recovered his loſſes, the ſtand which he made againſt the potentates that were united againſt him, the greatneſs of his enterprizes, and the ſplendour of his victories, arreſted the attention, and excited the admiration of ſurrounding nations. Throughout the year, he

' circumſtanced as to be obliged to have recourſe to that kind of ruinous war.' Military Inſtructions, ut ſupra, p. 170.

[1] Annual Regiſter, ut ſupra, p. 25.

diſplayed

displayed such consummate military skill, such vigour and fortitude of mind, and such heroic courage, as extorted the applause even of his enemies.

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CHAP. XXV.

Schweidnitz ſurrenders to the king of Pruſſia.—A ſubſidiary treaty entered into between him and the king of Great Britain.—Frederick enters Moravia at the head of his army, and lays ſiege to Olmutz.—Mareſchal Daun alſo enters Moravia, intercepts the Pruſſian convoys, and obliges the king to raiſe the ſiege.

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AT the opening of the campaign of the year 1758, the king of Pruſſia divided his forces into four ſeparate bodies; one of which he ordered to aſſemble on the right of the Oder, between Wohlau and Glogau, to cover Sileſia on that ſide, and make head againſt the Ruſſians, in caſe they ſhould advance that way; another towards Upper Sileſia, on the ſide of Moravia, which preſerved at the ſame time a communication with Glatz; the third in Luſatia, to ſecure the communication with Saxony, and annoy the frontiers of Bohemia; while the fourth and principal body, which was to be under the immediate command of the king himſelf, was aſſembled near Schweidnitz. As the ſiege of that place had been turned into a blockade, it was not inveſted in form till the twenty-firſt of March, when the operations were carried on with great vigour, and the place ſurrendered on the ſixteenth of April. The garriſon, which had

had been reduced by ſickneſs during the block- CHAP. XXV. A. D. 1758. ade, and by their loſſes during the ſiege, from ſeven to little more than three thouſand men, were made priſoners of war.

Of the king's behaviour, during this ſiege, to an officer of artillery in his ſervice, but who ſeems not to have been a native of the Pruſſian dominions, an anecdote is related, which appears not unworthy of being preſerved. The king had expreſſed much diſſatisfaction at the engineers and miners in the courſe of the ſiege; and in particular treated this officer, who was a captain of artillery, ſomewhat rudely; and concluded with ordering him to leave his ſervice. The officer, who was then in the trenches, made no reply, but immediately quitted the ſpot. The king, ſeeing him walk off, called him back, and ſaid to him, "You may ſtay till the ſiege is over, "and then you may go." "I am obliged to your majeſty," replied the officer, "for giving "me leave to break an arm, or a leg, before "I leave your ſervice; but I ſhall ſtand in "need of both, to ſave your majeſty the ex- "pence of having me carried out of your "territories." The king ſmiled at the officer's repartee, ſent him back to his poſt, and ordered him a gratuity [a].

[a] Obſervations on the Military Eſtabliſhment, &c. of the King of Pruſſia, p. 70. The author of this publication informs us, that this anecdote was related to him by the officer himſelf.

As

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As at the cloſe of the preceding year the Hanoverians had reſumed their arms, and began to act with vigour againſt the French, it alſo appeared early in the year 1758, that the king of Pruſſia would derive great aſſiſtance, if not by auxiliary troops, at leaſt by a ſupply of money, from the king and parliament of Great Britain. It has, indeed, been ſaid, that though no ſubſidy was openly mentioned in the firſt treaty made by his Britannick majeſty with the king of Pruſſia, yet that a ſubſidy of 200,000l. was privately ſtipulated. However that were, a ſecond treaty was concluded between their Britannick and Pruſſian majeſties, which was ſigned at London on the twelfth of April, 1758, in which it was ſtated, that the extraordinary efforts made by his Pruſſian majeſty, to defend himſelf againſt the numerous enemies, who had aſſailed him on all ſides at once, had put him to a very heavy expence; whilſt, on the other hand, his revenues had greatly decreaſed in that part of his dominions which had been the theatre of war; and as the contracting powers had mutually reſolved to continue their efforts for their reciprocal defence and ſecurity, for the recovery of their poſſeſſions, the protection of their allies, and the ſupport of the liberties of the Germanic body, his Britannick majeſty had, from theſe conſiderations, determined to grant to his Pruſſian majeſty an immediate ſuccour in money, as being the moſt ſpeedy and efficacious method of attaining the ends propoſed. It then farther ſtated,

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ſtated, that the king of Great Britain engaged to pay, in the city of London, to ſuch perſon or perſons as ſhould be authoriſed to receive it, the ſum of four millions of German crowns, amounting to SIX HUNDRED AND SEVENTY THOUSAND POUNDS STERLING, to be paid at once, and in one whole ſum, immediately after the exchange of ratifications, upon being demanded by his Pruſſian majeſty[b].

FOR this enormous ſubſidy no ſpecific ſervices were ſtipulated to be rendered either to Great Britain, or to the electorate of Hanover. It was only ſtated, in general terms, that his Pruſſian majeſty engaged to apply the money in augmenting and keeping up his forces, which ſhould act as might be moſt for the intereſt of the common cauſe, and for the purpoſe of reciprocal defence and mutual ſecurity. It was added, that neither of the contracting powers ſhould conclude any peace, make any truce, or enter into any treaty of neutrality, of what kind ſoever, without the participation of the other.

THE firſt Pruſſian treaty entered into by his Britannick majeſty, was in a very high degree injudicious and impolitic; and the ſecond was extremely burthenſome to his ſubjects.

[b] London Magazine, vol. XXVII. p. 442. Entick's Hiſt. of the War, vol. III. p. 74, 75.

Indeed,

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Indeed by theſe treaties he involved his regal dominions in an immenſe expence, and rendered no real ſervice to the electorate of Hanover. The preſervation of the balance of power in Europe, was one reaſon aſſigned for a connection with Pruſſia. But no ſecurity was derived to the balance of power from the Pruſſian treaties. Few events could have more endangered that balance, than a union between the powerful houſes of Auſtria and Bourbon; and this union appears to have been entirely occaſioned by the firſt Pruſſian treaty. It may alſo be obſerved, that no one intereſt of Great Britain was promoted by the war carrying on by the king of Pruſſia againſt the empreſs-queen; nor could Great Britain derive any advantage from his invaſion of Saxony, a Proteſtant electorate, with the Sovereign of which his Britannick majeſty had been in cloſe alliance, and from whom he had received no injury. Ruſſia had alſo been in alliance with Great Britain; and it could not be advantageous to the latter to be at variance with the czarina.

But notwithſtanding the many reaſons that may be urged, againſt the part which was taken by Great Britain in ſupport of the king of Pruſſia, the fact was, that, after his victories at Rosbach and Lissa, this prince became extremely popular in England [q]. His heroic qualities

[q] Count Algarotti ſays, that 'the French army having 'been routed by the king of Pruſſia, when it was leaſt expected, 'at

qualities excited admiration; the cauſes of the war in which he was engaged were not ſufficiently

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'at the memorable battle of ROSBACH, and in a month after, 'the Auſtrians at the ſtill more memorable battle of LISSA, 'which was followed by the taking of Breſlaw, the Engliſh be'gan to talk of nothing but the king of Pruſſia's victories. It 'was a ſcandal, they ſaid to leave at the mercy of Fortune a 'Hero, who ſhould be conſidered as the champion of the Pro'teſtant cauſe in Germany, and the only prince on the continent 'worthy the alliance of England, in oppoſition to France. His 'portrait was every where to be ſeen, and was the admiration 'of all deſcriptions of perſons. His birth-day was kept through 'the whole iſland with as much rejoicing, as if at Roſbach he 'had ſaved England from the invaſion of the French. The 'king took the advantage of this public enthuſiaſm, to bring 'once more upon the carpet the propoſition of ſending an army, 'or at leaſt a large body of Engliſh troops, to the continent'— 'The next year, large reinforcements of Engliſh troops were 'ſent to Germany; the famous treaty of ſubſidy with Pruſſia 'was concluded; and then it was that PITT conceived the idea 'of conquering America in Germany; conſtrained, as he him'ſelf has ſince acknowledged, by the neceſſity which Engliſh 'miniſters will ever be under, whilſt the king of Great Britain 'is elector of Hanover.' Letters Military and Political, p. 127, '128, 129.

Such was the enthuſiaſm of many in England for the king of Pruſſia, that ſubſcriptions were propoſed to be raiſed for him; and a maiden lady, of Saliſbury, remitted to him, by her banker, one thouſand pounds as a preſent. Gent. Mag. for the year 1758, p. 142. Some Engliſh noblemen and gentlemen alſo made offers of entering into his army as volunteers, but their offers were declined. The king's anſwer was, that "he was "very ſenſible of the honour done him, by thoſe Engliſh noble"men and gentlemen, who were deſirous to learn the art of "war under him, by ſerving as volunteers; but that the luxury "and expence of the Britiſh nobility and gentry could not be "admitted into his camp, leſt it ſhould prove infectious." Beſides

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ently inveſtigated, or underſtood; and he was conſidered as the great defender of the Proteſtant religion in Germany; though the war, in which he was engaged, had not in reality any connection whatever with religion [R]. He would as readily have united himſelf with the king of France, as with the king of England, if he had thought his own views would have been equally promoted. No new deſigns againſt the Proteſtant religion had been formed by any of the Popiſh princes; and, indeed, from no Roman Catholic prince in that age, did the Proteſtants in Germany ſuffer ſo much, as they did from the king of Pruſſia. This was the caſe not in Saxony only, but in Bohemia, and other places.

ſides his apprehenſions from the infection of luxury, Frederick was probably conſcious, from what he might have learned of the Engliſh character, that there were many things in his conduct, which, upon a near inſpection, would not naturally recommend him to Engliſhmen: and that the reports which they might tranſmit to their own country concerning him, might have no tendency to increaſe the ardour of the people of England in his ſupport.

[R] In a declaration which was publiſhed by the empreſs-queen at Vienna, in anſwer to a manifeſto of the king of Pruſſia is the following paſſage: 'The hoſtile projects which the king 'of Pruſſia hath cheriſhed in his own breaſt were to ſeem the 'conſequences of that zeal, with which he pretended to be filled 'for the ſupport of the Proteſtant religion, which was diſturbed 'or threatened by none: whereas the perſons of beſt ſenſe of 'that very religion are convinced, that if only the ſupport of 'religion was in queſtion, the king of Pruſſia would not ſacri'fice one private ſoldier to the cauſe.' Literary Magazine, vol. I. p. 432.

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At the period of which I am writing, Mr. Pitt was ſecretary of ſtate in England; and it was manifeſt, that this great miniſter now acted in oppoſition to his former declarations and opinions, reſpecting continental connections, in compliance with the perſonal prejudices of the king. When out of office, he had vehemently declared in parliament, that "not a man, no, "not half a man, ſhould be ſent to fight the "battles of any foreign elector;" and his declarations of this kind had given great offence to king George II. When he was ſecretary of ſtate in 1757, he ſtill continued to oppoſe ſending Britiſh troops to Germany, and was removed from his office; but he was afterwards re-inſtated, by the voice of the people prevailing againſt the private inclinations of the king. He concurred, however, the following year, in the ſecond Pruſſian treaty, and in the meaſures which were the reſult of it. As to the firſt Pruſſian treaty, it was concluded when he was not in power; and he could not, therefore, be anſwerable for the conſequences. Mr. Pitt poſſeſſed an elevated genius, had great views, and really wiſhed to promote the honour and the intereſt of his country; but he was alſo influenced by motives of ambition; and he found, that no man was likely to continue long in power, who would not comply with the perſonal prejudices of the king, and ſupport his attachment to German ſubſidies, and German connections. "What the king has moſt at heart," ſays count Algarotti,

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Algarotti, "is certainly his electorate of Hanover. This is the compaſs that has uniformly guided the wars of England, ſince the elevation of the houſe of Brunſwick to the throne of that kingdom; and the preſervation of this electorate will ſtill continue to be the ruling principle[c].

But it is neceſſary that I ſhould return to the military operations of the king of Pruſſia. After the ſurrender of Schweidnitz, he advanced to the eaſtern frontier of Bohemia, and ſent a detachment as far as Trautenau, which was garriſoned by a body of Auſtrians, who, after an obſtinate reſiſtance, abandoned the place, and retreated towards their grand army. By this ſucceſs he opened to himſelf a way into Bohemia, by which he poured in detachments of light troops, to raiſe contributions, and harraſs the out-poſts of the enemy. At the ſame time, the baron de la Mothe Fouquet marched with another body of troops againſt the Auſtrian general Jahnus, who was poſted in the county of Glatz, and whom he obliged to abandon all the poſts that he occupied in that country. He purſued him as far as Nachod, within twenty miles of Koningſgratz, where the grand Auſtrian army was now encamped, under the command of mareſchal Daun. Beſides theſe excurſions, the king ordered a body of thirty thouſand men to be aſſembled, to act under the command of his brother prince

[c] Letters military and political, p. 101.

Henry,

Henry, who had diſplayed great military talents againſt the army of the empire, which had been aſſembled with great difficulty near Bamberg in Franconia, under the command of the prince de Deuxponts. CH. XXV A. 175

THE king of Pruſſia, by the motions of his troops, took ſome pains to induce the Auſtrians to believe, that he intended to carry the war into Bohemia. But his real deſign was to change the theatre of war, and to penetrate into Moravia, a fertile country, which had hitherto been kept free from ravage and contribution. And if he could have ſucceeded in his operations in this country, his ſucceſſes, by opening to him the neareſt road to Vienna, muſt have proved more deciſive than in any other place. Accordingly having poſted ſome of his troops in ſuch a manner, as to deceive the enemy with reſpect to his real deſign, the main of his army, by a very rapid march, entered into Moravia in two columns[d]. As by this unexpected march he had thrown his enemies behind him, it was expected, that he would have proceeded directly to Vienna. But he ſaw the danger of leaving an Auſtrian garriſon in Olmutz, ſupported by an Auſtrian army in his rear. He, therefore reſolved to make himſelf maſter of that ſtrong town, before he advanced farther. He accordingly opened the trenches before it on the twenty ſeventh of May, with the moſt ſanguine expectations of

[d] Annual Regiſter, vol. I. p 40, 41.

ſuc-

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ſucceſs [e]. He drove the Auſtrian and Saxon cavalry, under general Ville, beyond Wiſchaw; and his army took poſſeſſion of all the poſts, which were proper for covering the troops intended to be employed in the ſiege. The margrave Charles occupied the poſt of Neuſtadt; the prince of Anhalt-Deſſau that of Littau; and the king himſelf took poſt on the eminences between Proſtnitz and Olifchau [f].

Mareschal Daun being appriſed of Frederick's motions and deſigns, now quitted his camp at Leutomiſſel in Bohemia, and entered Moravia by the way of Billa. He did not, however, think it prudent to attack the king of Pruſſia; but ſuppoſed that he might more certainly and ſafely prevent his progreſs, by adopting a more wary and cautious mode of conduct. He took his poſts from Gewics to Littau, in a mountainous country, in a ſituation in which it was impoſſible to attack him. He had the fertile country of Bohemia, from whence he readily and certainly drew ſupplies, at his rear. His ſcheme was, to relieve the beſieged occaſionally, to harraſs the beſiegers, and to intercept their convoys from Sileſia; and this ſcheme ſucceeded to his wiſh [g]. Olmutz is ſo extenſive in its works, and ſo peculiarly ſituated on the river Moravia, that it is a city which it is very difficult completely to inveſt. So that ſome of the king's poſts being

[e] Hiſt. of Modern Europe, vol. V. p. 311.
[f] Entick's Hiſt. of the War, vol. III. p. 150.
[g] Smollett, ut ſupra, p. 315.

neceſſarily

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neceſſarily weakened, by occupying ſo great an extent of country, they were attacked by count Daun's detachments from time to time, with ſuch ſucceſs, that abundant ſuccours, both of men and ammunition, were thrown into the place. Theſe attacks were moſtly made by night, and very few nights paſſed without ſome attack. The ſucceſs was various. But the operations of the ſiege were greatly diſturbed by theſe continual alarms[h]. The forage in the neighbourhood of Moravia had alſo become extremely ſcarce; ſo that the Pruſſian horſe were obliged to make excurſions for forage to a great diſtance, and were conſequently expoſed to great fatigue, and often liable to ſurprize. Mareſchal Daun availed himſelf of all theſe circumſtances; and it was in vain that the king of Pruſſia employed various arts to incite him to a battle. While the garriſon made repeated ſallies, to retard the operations of the beſiegers, the Auſtrian general harraſſed the Pruſſian foraging parties, fell upon different quarters of their army in the night, and kept them in continual alarm. Notwithſtanding theſe obſtructions, the king finiſhed his firſt parallel, and proceeded with ſuch vigour, as ſeemed to promiſe a ſpeedy reduction of the place, when his deſign was entirely fruſtrated by the vigilance and activity of count Daun. That able general having received intelligence, that a large convoy had ſet out from Sileſia for the Pruſſian camp, reſolved to ſeize this op-

[h] Annual Regiſter, ut ſupra.

portunity

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portunity of compelling the king to deſiſt from his enterprize. He ſent general Jahnus, with a ſtrong body of troops, towards Bahrn, and another detachment to Stadt-Liebe, with orders to attack the convoy on different ſides; while he himſelf advanced towards the beſiegers, as if he intended to give them battle. Frederick was not deceived by this feint. From the motions of the Auſtrian general, he ſuſpected his real ſcheme, and immediately diſpatched general Ziethen, with a ſtrong reinforcement, to protect the convoy, which was eſcorted by eight battalions, and about four thouſand men, who had been ſick, and were juſt recovered; and who, it is ſaid, "were "regimented for the ſake of order in the "march." But before Ziethen could join them, the convoy had been attacked; though the aſſailants were repulſed with conſiderable loſs. Mareſchal Daun, however, took care that they ſhould be immediately reinforced; and the next day, which was the twenty-ninth of June, the attack was renewed with much greater effect. Four hundred waggons, four battalions of Pruſſian infantry, and about a thouſand troopers, had ſcarcely paſſed the defiles of Domſtadt, when the Auſtrians charged them furiouſly, both on the ſide of Bahrn, and on that of Domſtadt. The head of the convoy

[1] Relation of the king of Pruſſia's proceedings, from his entering Moravia, &c. publiſhed by authority at Berlin, and ſuppoſed to be written by the king himſelf, printed in London Mag. vol. XXVII. p. 412, 413, &c.

was

was cut off from the reſt; and general Ziethen, CHAP. XXV. A. D. 1758. though he exerted himſelf like a brave and able officer, was obliged to abandon his waggons, and retire to Troppau [k].

THUS almoſt the whole Pruſſian convoy fell into the hands of the Auſtrians, who took above ſix hundred priſoners, together with general Putkammer. This unfavourable event compelled Frederick to raiſe the ſiege; but if the convoy had arrived ſafe, it was ſuppoſed that the place could not have held out more than a fortnight, though a very gallant defence was made by the governor, general Marſchall [l].

[k] Berlin account, in the Lond. Mag. ut ſupra.
[l] Id. Ibid.

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Frederick retires out of Moravia, marches into Bohemia, and makes himſelf maſter of Koningſgratz.—The Ruſſians enter the Pruſſian dominions, and commit great ravages there.—Siege of Cuſtrin.—The king of Pruſſia ſets out from Bohemia, to oppoſe the progreſs of the Ruſſians.—Battle of Zorndorff.

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THE king of Pruſſia having been obliged to raiſe the ſiege of Olmutz, by the able and vigilant conduct of count Daun, now found it neceſſary to change his deſigns, and to retire out of Moravia. But it was a matter of ſome difficulty, to retreat without loſs, in the face of a vigilant enemy, prepared to ſeize every opportunity of advantage. In this, however, he had the good fortune to ſucceed. Inſtead of falling back upon Sileſia, his moſt natural and obvious march, but which muſt have drawn the Auſtrians into his own dominions, he determined to take the route of Bohemia, the frontiers

frontiers of which were left uncovered by mareſchal Daun, when he advanced his quarters to Proſtnitz, in order to ſuccour Olmutz the more effectually. After Frederick had taken his meaſures, he carefully concealed his deſign from the Auſtrians. The day before the ſiege was raiſed, the firing of the Pruſſians continued as briſk as ever; and there was no appearance of their having any intention to depart. But in the night of the firſt of July, the whole Pruſſian army took the road to Bohemia in two columns, and gained an entire day's march upon the Auſtrians. So that, notwithſtanding the utmoſt efforts that mareſchal Daun could make, to harraſs the king in his march, he advanced into Bohemia with little moleſtation, ſeized upon a large magazine at Leutomiſſel, defeated ſome bodies of Auſtrian troops who had attempted to diſturb him in his progreſs, and arrived at Koningſgratz, one of the moſt important poſts in Bohemia, with all his ſick and wounded, and with all his baggage, artillery, and military ſtores. This place he made himſelf maſter of, after driving from it a body of ſeven thouſand Auſtrians, who were entrenched there; and he immediately laid the city, and ſeveral other diſtricts, under contribution [a].

[a] Annual Regiſter, vol. I. p. 42, 43. Smollett, ut ſupra, p. 327, 328. Hiſt. of Modern Europe, vol. V. p. 312.

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DURING theſe tranſactions, the Ruſſian army, which was now commanded by general Fermor, mareſchal Apraxin having been removed from the command, had again entered the Pruſſian dominions, and committed great ravages in various parts of the country. Early in the year, general Fermor had taken poſſeſſion of Koningſburg, the capital of Ducal Pruſſia, without oppoſition [b]; the Pruſſian troops having quitted that country, in order to proſecute the war againſt the Swedes, who had again commenced hoſtilities in the weſtern parts of Pomerania. But general Fermor afterwards advanced towards Sileſia, in order to co-operate with another body of Ruſſian troops, commanded by general Brown, who had taken his route through Poland. By the firſt of July, both the bodies of Ruſſian troops had reached the frontiers of Sileſia, and ſome of their Coſſacks, penetrating into that province, had committed great ravages, and overwhelmed the inhabitants with conſternation [c]. But the Ruſſian generals afterwards changed their route, and entered the New Marche of Brandenburgh [s]; and they inveſted CUSTRIN,

[b] Entick's Hiſt. of the War, vol. III. p. 145.

[c] Smollett, ut ſupra, p. 329, 330.

[s] The prince-royal of Pruſſia died about a month before the Ruſſians had entered the Pruſſian territories. He appears to have had a ſtrong apprehenſion, that the conduct of Frederick would bring ruin upon the houſe of Brandenburgh; and,

CUSTRIN, a fortified town, within fifty miles of Berlin. Count Dohna, with a body of Pruſſian CHAP. XXVI. A. D. 1758.

and, when his phyſicians informed him, that he could not live more than twenty-four hours, he is ſaid to have written a long letter to the king his brother, containing a free remonſtrance againſt ſome parts of his conduct; and in which letter were the following paſſages: 'In theſe critical hours, in which I am 'endeavouring to collect and to raiſe all the faculties of my 'ſoul, for a laſt exertion, I neither can, nor will, deſcend to 'my perſonal grievances. I leave to my ſons the ſorrowful 'ſatisfaction of hearing you regret, that you have been too ſlow 'in doing me juſtice. I leave it to my brothers, Henry and 'Ferdinand, to point out the difference that you ought to make, 'between the princes of your blood, and the reſt of your ſub-'jects. Your courtiers will themſelves do me juſtice. They 'have treated me with contempt: they have dared to poſt up 'libels againſt me. But when time ſhall have conſoled them 'for the expence of that mourning, which it will be neceſſary 'for them to put themſelves to on my account, they will 'acknowledge my rights, and be ſenſible of the injuries that 'they have done me. Perhaps, ſire, I ſhall be too much 'avenged by my ſons, by my brothers, by your friends. I 'foreſee it; and it is in vain that I wiſh to exiſt only in the re-'membrance of your majeſty. Yes, ſire, the regrets of my 'brother will be ſufficient, in my eyes, to expiate the faults of 'my king. I ſhould willingly leave poſterity in an error re-'ſpecting my concerns.

'Though I have given ſome flight to my imagination, the 'ſlow fever which conſumes me has not ſufficiently enflamed 'my blood, to throw any diſorder into my underſtanding. 'My ideas are arranged, and they produce themſelves with 'order. I have a ſight ſufficiently ſtrong, to follow Phaeton 'even to the utmoſt height of his courſe. Far from being daz-'zled by the rays which ſurround him, I ſee with a fixed eye the

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Pruſſian troops under his command, who had for ſome time been employed in acting againſt the

'the progreſs of his downfall, the falſe courſes into which he de-
'viates, the intractability of his horſes, and his own embar-
'raſſment. And when I have ceaſed to reaſon upon the ſubject,
'I fix my attention upon the ſorrowful ſpectacle of his fall, and
'upon the misfortunes of his family.

'Your majeſty diſdains my predictions. Like another Caſ-
'ſandra, I have ſeen the court, and the army, inſult the genius,
'which inſpires me. But condeſcend to liſten to me, ſire, now
'that I cannot be ſuſpected of any illuſion, or deceit, in my
'auguries.

Fuimus Troes. Fuit Ilium. There is an end, ſire, of the
'power and of the houſe of Pruſſia, if you continue to brave
'all Europe, confederated together againſt you. I am willing
'to conſider you as ſuperior to all the kings, whom a boiſterous
'life has rendered famous. I admit, that, with the ſame deſtiny
'as theirs, you may always have the advantage of being leſs
'renowned by your fall, than by the great atchievements
'you have made before that ſhall take place. Yet, it would
'be to degrade you, to compare you to the warlike kings of
'Sweden. Your forces are greater than thoſe of Guſtavus
'Adolphus; you have more knowledge and more prudence
'than Charles Guſtavus; and your talents are more various
'than thoſe of Charles XII. Nevertheleſs, your horoſcope is
'more inauſpicious than theirs. The firſt prevented by his
'death the inconſtancy of fortune; the ſecond died of chagrin,
'when he was upon the point of being humbled; the third,
'ſurvived his grandeur and his glory. But their cauſe was leſs
'diſadvantageous than yours. Charles XII. defended him-
'ſelf; you have attacked. His enemies were deſirous to wea-
'ken him; yours have a right to ruin you. His enemies re-
'quired indulgence of him; you have need of that of your ene-
'mies. He wanted to avenge himſelf; you are an object of
'vengeance. They feared his perſon, they were diſarmed by
'his death: your enemies hate the power, and dread the houſe
'of Pruſſia. Your enemies cannot be appeaſed but by the de-

'ſtruction

the Swedes, who had again commenced hoſtilities, now attended the motions of the Ruſſians; CHAP. XXVI. A. D. 1758.

'ſtruction of the one, and the abaſement of the other. 'Charles marched againſt three ſovereigns who had defied him; 'you force all Europe to arm againſt you. The princes of it 'are leagued againſt your majeſty by juſtice and by intereſt; 'and their ſubjects attach to your ruin the re-eſtabliſhment of 'peace, the honour of ſovereignty, the ſafety of monarchical 'government. The admiration that your great actions in'ſpire, is an aſtoniſhment followed by fear, and by grief. 'Men read in your ſucceſs the ſlavery of the human race, the 'annihilation of laws, the degradation of ſociety.' *Vie de Frederick* II. *Roi de Pruſſe*, edit. 8vo. Straſbourg, 1788, tom. II. p. 316, 317, 318.

In the above letter the prince alſo ſtrongly remonſtrates againſt the king's treatment of the king of Poland, as elector of Saxony; and ſpeaking of the correſpondence between the courts of Saxony and Vienna, publiſhed by Frederick, he ſays, 'The 'more you have proved that you were acquainted with the in'tentions of Saxony, the more odious have you rendered its 'invaſion. It has been ſeen, that, in order to procure this 'knowledge, your miniſter Malzham has degraded his charac'ter; and that, by means proſcribed in ſociety, all that you 'have diſcovered is, that the king-elector of Saxony did not 'love the power of Pruſſia, that he feared it, and that he even 'dared to form projects to defend himſelf againſt it. Pieces 'which are ſtolen make againſt the accuſer who produces them, 'if they do not prove the crime that they impute.' Ibid. p. 325.

The prince likewiſe makes a variety of obſervations relative to the views and diſpoſitions of the different courts of Europe reſpecting the king of Pruſſia; and he remarks, that Hanover and England were Frederick's only allies. On this alliance, he ſaid, the king could not long depend; for the Engliſh were ſufficiently acquainted with geography to know, that "there "was but little communication between the Oder and the "Ohio."

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ans; but his force was not ſufficiently conſiderable to oppoſe their progreſs. They carried on the ſiege of Cuſtrin with great fury; and threw ſuch a multitude of bombs and red hot balls into that city, that in a ſhort time it was on fire in every quarter. Some of the inhabitants were conſumed in the flames, ſome buried in the ruins, and ſome killed by the

"Ohio." Speaking of the czarina, he ſays, 'Ruſſia is perſuaded, that your deſigns upon her occaſioned the applications that you made to the court of Vienna, to ſubſtitute a truce of two years in the room of a ſolemn treaty of peace. She believes, that you wanted to tie up the hands of the empreſs-queen, ſo as to put it out of her power to ſuccour her ally; that a war againſt Ruſſia was the principal object of your intrigues in Sweden; that you have deſigns upon Courland, and that Poliſh Pruſſia and Pomerania would be very convenient for you; that you find Ruſſia the greateſt obſtacle to this rounding of your dominions; and, in ſhort, ſhe believes, that ſhe has the ſame intereſt in your abaſement as the houſe of Auſtria.' He concludes with exhorting the king his brother, in very pathetic terms, to liſten to terms of peace, and thereby to prevent the ruin of himſelf, of his people, and of his royal houſe.

Frederick, who had no great faith in the predictions of phyſicians, is ſaid to have written an anſwer to his brother, expreſſing his hopes of his life, and teſtifying great regard for him. In the letter attributed to him on this occaſion, he alſo made ſome obſervations in vindication, or extenuation, of his own conduct; and he endeavoured to ſhew that his ſituation was leſs dangerous than his brother apprehended. He hinted to him, that he had formed ſome great ſchemes, which would be beneficial and honourable to their royal houſe, which he would communicate to him on his recovery, but which he did not think proper to commit to paper. He expreſſed his ardent wiſhes for his brother's recovery, and then aſſured him that he would open to him all his views, and treat him with the moſt unreſerved confidence. *Vie de Frederick* II. *Roi de Pruſſe, ut ſupra*, p. 327—334.

balls,

balls, which fell like hail in the ſtreets. The ſurviving majority, who found ſafety neither within nor without their houſes, abandoned their homes and their ſubſtance, and fled, many of them almoſt naked, out of the city, on that ſide which was not inveſted [T]. The governor, however, did every thing

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[T] In the tranſlation of a letter written by an inhabitant of CUSTRIN, who was reſident in the city during part of the ſiege, are the following paſſages: 'The enemy threw ſuch a multi-'tude of bombs and red hot bullets into the city, that by nine 'o'clock (in the morning of Auguſt 15.) it burnt with great 'fury in three different places, which could not be extinguiſh-'ed, as the houſes were cloſely built, and the ſtreets narrow. 'The air appeared like a ſhower of fiery rain and hail. The 'ſurprized inhabitants had not time to think of any thing, but 'of ſaving their lives, by getting into the open fields. I, as 'well as many others, had hardly time to put on my clothes. 'As I was leading my wife, with a young child in her arms, 'and driving my other children and ſervants before me, who 'were almoſt naked, having ever ſince the firſt fright run about 'as they got out of bed, the bombs and red hot bullets fell 'round about us; but, thank God, I and my family received 'no hurt. The bombs, in burſting, daſhed the houſes, and 'every thing that was in their way, to pieces. Thus I went 'out of one miſery into another, leaving every individual thing 'behind me. Every body that could, got out of the town as 'faſt as poſſible; and the crowd of naked, and in the higheſt 'degree, wretched people, was vaſtly great. Among the wo-'men were many of diſtinction, who had neither ſhoes nor 'ſtockings, nor hardly any thing elſe on, thinking of nothing 'but of ſaving their lives. When I had ſeen my family in the 'open field, I endeavoured to return to ſave ſomething, if 'poſſible, but in vain. I could not force my way through the 'multitude of people, thronging out at the gate, ſome few 'with horſes and carriages, and others with ſick and bed-ridden 'on their backs. The bombs, cannon-balls, and red hot bul-'lets, fell ſo thick, that every body thought themſelves happy, 'if

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thing in his power, for the defence of the walls and ruins of the place; but the walls, which were built in the old manner, did not promiſe a ſucceſsful defence; the Ruſſians had poſted themſelves in the ſuburbs; and in the firing of

'if they could eſcape. Many thouſands are made miſerable, 'inhabitants as well as ſtrangers; for many from the open coun- 'try, and defenceleſs towns in Pruſſia, Pomerania, and the 'New Marche, had fled thither with their moſt valuable effects, 'when the Ruſſians entered the Pruſſian territories, in hopes of 'ſecurity: ſo that a great many, who were a little while ago 'poſſeſſed of conſiderable fortunes, are now reduced to beggary. 'On the roads nothing was to be ſeen but miſery, and nothing 'to be heard, but ſuch cries and lamentations, as were enough 'to move even the ſtones; as no one knew where to get a mor- 'ſel of bread, nor what to do for farther ſubſiſtence. The neigh- 'bouring towns and villages were ſoon filled. I ſtaid till next 'day at Goltz, to wait the farther event of things; but was 'ſoon informed, that, amongſt the other buildings, the great 'magazine, the governor's houſe, the church, the palace, the 'ſtore, and artillery houſes, were deſtroyed. In ſhort, the old 'and new town, the ſuburbs, and the great bridge over the 'Oder, as well as all the others, were reduced to aſhes.'

'The writings of all the colleges are entirely deſtroyed, as well 'as the valuable archives of the country; which is an immenſe 'loſs.'—The fire was ſo furious, that the cannon in the ſtore 'and artillery-houſes were all melted; and the loaded bombs 'and cartridges for cannon and muſquets, with a large quantity 'of gunpowder, went off at once with a moſt horrible exploſion. 'After the bridges were conſumed, the piles and ſterlings were 'burnt to the water's edge.'—The fury of the enemy fell almoſt 'entirely on the inhabitants; and they did not begin to batter 'the fortifications, except with a few ſhot, till the 17th, after 'the reſt was all deſtroyed.' London Magazine, vol. XXVII. p. 670, 671.

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the town, the principal magazine of the be- CHAP. XXVI. A. D. 1758.
ſieged was blown up[d].

THE king of Pruſſia, alarmed at the progreſs of the Ruſſians in his dominions, now reſolved to quit Bohemia, and to go himſelf in perſon to oppoſe them. On the twenty-fifth of July, he quitted his camp at Koningſgratz; and on the twenty-eighth he paſſed the Metau. He was ſomewhat harraſſed in his march, by detachments of Auſtrian troops; but, in ſeveral ſkirmiſhes, the Pruſſians had the advantage. On the firſt of Auguſt, the Pruſſian army arrived at Skalitz; and on the eleventh of the month encamped at Landſhut[e]. From thence the king ſet out with a detachment, and arrived at Franckfort on the Oder on the twenty-ſecond. In a letter written the day after, by an officer who was with him, are the following paſſages: 'Yeſterday the king entered 'with us into this city. He rode before the 'cavalry, who followed him with drawn 'ſwords. None of us knew whether we were 'to ſtop here, or whether we were to pro'ceed farther. But when the king came be'fore the door of a houſe, wherein a clergy'man's widow lived, he commanded the men 'to halt, and ordered an adjutant to go in, 'and tell her, that he intended to lodge 'there. The widow immediately appeared; 'and, kneeling, ſaid, that her habitation was

[d] Annual Regiſter, vol. I. p. 51.
[e] London Magazine, vol. XXVII. p. 469.

'too

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'too mean for the reception of ſo great a monarch, as her rooms were ſmall and inconvenient. The king raiſed her with great affability, and deſired her to let him have one of her beſt rooms. He then entered the houſe; but ſoon after came out again, and ordered the troops to march. As they paſſed, we could diſtinctly hear every ſhot fired againſt Cuſtrin. I obſerved, that the king took a pinch of ſnuff at every report; and even through that air of intrepidity, which never abandons this prince, I could perceive the ſenſations of compaſſion towards that unfortunate city, and an eager impatience to fly to its relief. After the troops had entered their quarters, the king partook of a *kalteſchale* [u], with prince Maurice of Anhalt-Deſſau, and general Seidlitz. Orders were then given for our marching the following morning; but his majeſty having afterwards received intelligence by one of his ſpies, we ſet out again at two in the morning. 'Till that time the king ſat up writing in his chamber, accompanied by the prince and the general[f].

THE king proceeded on his march, and cauſed a bridge to be thrown over the Oder at Gataviſs, over which his troops paſſed, and

[u] This is ſaid to be a kind of caudle, made of wine and biſcuit, with lemons and ſugar.

[f] Vie de Frederick II. Roi de Pruſſe, tom. II. p. 258, 259. Anecdotes and Characteriſtics of Frederick the Great, vol. I. p. 135, 136.

having

having made a junction with the army under count Dohna, he then took up his quarters, at Golaſſan [v]. Here ſome of his huſſars brought in ten or a dozen Coſſacks, whom they had taken priſoners. The king ſeemed ſtruck with the ſingularity of their appearance; and, after ſurveying them for ſome time with great attention, he ſaid to major-general Wedel, who was with him, "Look at theſe men, and ſee "againſt what ſtrange creatures I am obliged "to fight." From Golaſſan the king proceeded to Dirmitzel, where he encamped; and, having joined his army under count Dohna, he made his diſpoſitions for attacking the Ruſſians the next day [w], which was the twenty-fifth of Auguſt. CHAP. XXVI. A. D. 1758.

When the Ruſſians received information of the approach of the king of Pruſſia, they abandoned the ſiege of Cuſtrin, and took poſt near the villages of Zwicker and Zorndorff. Frederick intended to wind round the left flank of their army, and to take them in the rear, by

[v] At this place the king reviewed ſome freſh Pruſſian troops, who had been quartered here, and obſerving them to be neatly dreſſed, and powdered, he ſaid, "Theſe ſoldiers are finely pow-"dered, and look extremely well. I have brought ſome with "me who do not make quite ſo good an appearance; but they "have been much uſed to the ſmell of gunpowder."

[w] It is ſaid, that in the evening before the battle of Zorndorff, Frederick amuſed himſelf with correcting three ſtanzas of an ode of Rouſſeau, which he conceived to require ſome alterations. Vie de Frederick II. Roy de Pruſſe, tom. II. p. 259.

which

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which he hoped to throw them into confuſion. But in this he found himſelf diſappointed. General Fermor, who commanded the Ruſſian army, had foreſeen his purpoſe, and made excellent diſpoſitions. As the ground did not permit them to extend greatly in length, they threw themſelves into a ſquare body, compoſed of four lines, forming a front almoſt equal on every ſide, and on every ſide ſurrounded by cannon and chevaux de frize [s]. In this formidable diſpoſition the Ruſſians, who were greatly ſuperior in number to the Pruſſians, waited their attack.

The battle began at nine o'clock in the morning, near the village of ZORNDORFF, about ſix miles from Cuſtrin. The Pruſſians commenced the action by a fire of cannon and mortars, which rained on the right wing of the Ruſſians, without the leaſt intermiſſion, for near two hours. Great havock was made by the fire of the Pruſſians; but the Ruſſians ſuſtained it with the utmoſt intrepidity. They fell in their ranks; and new regiments ſtill preſſed forward, to fill their places, and to ſupply new ſlaughter. But when the firſt line had fired away all their charges, they ruſhed forward ſo furiouſly on the Pruſſian infantry, that they compelled them to retire in diſorder. This occaſioned a conſiderable opening in the Pruſſian line, and left their whole left flank

[s] Annual Regiſter, vol. I. p. 51.

uncovered.

uncovered. At this critical period, general Seidlitz, with the cavalry under his command, rode up full gallop againſt the center of the Ruſſian army whereby he ſeparated their two wings, and forced the left to fall back into the moraſſes that lay behind it. Having routed the Ruſſian cavalry, general Seidlitz fell upon the flank of their infantry with great fury: but they ſtill continued to ſtand their ground [x], and terrible havock was made amongſt them, not only with the ſword and bayonet, but likewiſe by the cannon, which were loaded with grape-ſhot, and being very ably ſerved, did great execution. The diſtance of 2400 paces between the two lines of the Ruſſian

[x] In a letter from a general officer in the Pruſſian army, who was preſent in this action, publiſhed in the London Magazine, (vol. XXVII. p. 487, 488.) are the following paſſages: 'Fifteen thouſand of the Ruſſians covered the field of battle; but 'while we thought ourſelves ſecure of victory, they were yet 'preparing to diſpute it.'—'The king's troops, far from being 'diſpirited by the fatigues of the day, thought of nothing but 'ſignalizing themſelves by their bravery. Animated more and 'more, they ſurmounted all difficulties, and at length overcame 'the obſtinacy of the enemy. The ſetting ſun terminated to our 'advantage the laſt maſſacre, by a ſhower of bullets, and an 'attack with the bayonet fixed at the end of the muſquet. Then 'the great ſuperiority of the enemies only ſerved to augment 'their loſs.'—'One might wonder at the diſproportion of the 'loſs on both ſides, had we not obſerved, that the enemies ar'tillery was ſo ill ſerved, that the balls went ten or twelve feet 'over our heads, only a few cannon, charged with cartridge 'ſhot, did ſome execution againſt us.'—'They give us more 'trouble in killing, than in overcoming them; for a ſhot through 'the body is not ſufficient to make them leave off fighting, un'leſs the vital parts are touched.'

right

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right wing, together with the duſt and ſmo
alſo hindered the Ruſſians from diſtinguiſhi
between their own men and the Pruſſians;
that great numbers of the Ruſſians were kill
by their own men [h]. In this confuſion ſome
them plundered their own baggage, intoxicat
themſelves with brandy, and mutinied again
their officers. Towards evening the confuſi
among them increaſed to ſuch a degree, th
they would probably have been entirely route
but one of the Ruſſian generals perceiving t
fortune of the day turn againſt them, rallie
ſelect body of troops, and made a vigoro
impreſſion on the right wing of the Pruſſia
This effort diverted their attention ſo ſtron
to that quarter, that the right of the Ruſſi
enjoyed a reſpite, during which they retired
tolerable order, and occupied a new poſt
the right. The action laſted more than
hours, and the ſlaughter of the Ruſſians
great; for the Pruſſians were much exaſpera
againſt them, on account of the ravages wh
they had committed in their country; and t
are alſo ſaid to have received orders to give
Ruſſians no quarter [i].

THE king of Pruſſia remained the wh
night, with his army, upon the field of ba
and took the neceſſary meaſures to improve

[h] Letter from a Swediſh officer, who ſerved in the R
army, to general Hamilton, publiſhed in the Grand Mag
vol. I. p. 589.

[i] Vie de Frederick II. Roy de Pruſſe, tom. II. p. 75.

advan

advantage that he had obtained. The next morning, he again advanced towards the enemy, and the cannonading was renewed. But it did not laſt long; for the Ruſſians were obliged to continue their retreat, abandoning their artillery, and a great number of colours and ſtandards [k]. Frederick gave them no time to recover themſelves, but cauſed them to be harraſſed on all ſides during the whole day, and a great carnage enſued. In the evening, the king cauſed his infantry to encamp, but ordered his cavalry and huſſars to continue to purſue and harraſs the enemy. The Ruſſians afterwards encamped themſelves advantageouſly three leagues from the field of battle, where they continued till the thirty-firſt of Auguſt, and then retreated towards Poland, by Lanſberg, after ſetting fire to the greateſt part of their baggage [l]. CHAP. XXVI. A. D. 1758.

The loſs of the Ruſſians in killed, wounded, and priſoners, in the battle of Zorndorff, and in their ſubſequent retreat, amounted to more than twenty thouſand; while that of the Pruſſians did not much exceed ten thouſand, including ſome officers of diſtinction, particularly two aids du camp, who attended the perſon of the king, which he had expoſed to all the dangers of the day. It is ſaid, that Frederick often expoſed himſelf to ſo much danger

[k] London Mag. vol. XXVII. p. 470, from the London Gazette Extraordinary of Sept. 8, 1758.

[l] Entick's Hiſt. of the War, vol. III. p. 341.

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in his battles, that even the common ſoldiers ſometimes exclaimed againſt it, and endeavoured to prevent it; calling out to him, "If "your majeſty is loſt, we are all loſt of "courſe [m]." Beſides the military trophies, which were taken from the Ruſſians in the battle of Zorndorff, the Pruſſians alſo made themſelves maſters of more than one hundred pieces of cannon, and of the Ruſſian military cheſt, which contained nine hundred thouſand rubles [n]. The king had a high ſenſe of the importance of general Seidlitz's ſervices in this action; and when the Britiſh miniſter, Mr. Mitchel, complimented him upon his victory, ſaying, "Heaven has granted to your majeſty "another glorious day," Frederick replied, "Without Seidlitz, it would have been a "gloomy one [o]."

IMMEDIATELY after the battle, general Fermor, who was ſlightly wounded in the action, ſent a trumpet, with a letter to lieutenant-general Dohna, deſiring a ſuſpenſion of arms for two or three days, to bury the dead, and take care of the wounded. He alſo preſented to his Pruſſian majeſty the requeſt of general Brown [y],

[m] Anecdotes and characteriſtics of Frederick the Great, vol. II. p. 25, 26.

[n] London Mag. ut ſupra, from the London Gazette.

[o] Anecdotes and characteriſtics of Frederick the Great, vol. I. p. 141.

[y] General Brown, who was ſecond in command in the Ruſſian army, was a Scotſman; and general Fermor, who had the chief command, was of Scottiſh extraction.

who

who was wounded, and much weakened by the loſs of blood, that he might have a paſſport, by virtue of which he could be removed to a place, where he ſhould find ſuch accommodation as his ſituation required. Count Dohna returned an anſwer to the Ruſſian general, in which he acquainted him, that as the king his maſter had gained the battle, and remained maſter of the field, he would not fail to give the neceſſary orders for burying the dead, and taking care of the wounded on both ſides. A ſuſpenſion of arms was declined, but the requeſt of general Brown was granted; and the count concluded his letter, by complaining of the outrages which the Ruſſian troops ſtill continued to commit, in plundering and burning the Pruſſian villages. In the courſe of this campaign, the Coſſacks are ſaid to have been guilty of great cruelties, killing many of the inhabitants of the towns and villages, ſetting fire to their houſes, and committing rapes upon their wives and daughters.

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When the king came to Cuſtrin, he ſeemed much affected with the ruinous appearance of the city; and he ſaid to ſome of the inhabitants, "My children, I could not come ſooner, "or this misfortune ſhould not have happened: have but patience, and I will cauſe every "thing to be rebuilt." The perſon who had been commandant at Cuſtrin, when the Ruſſians firſt came there, was underſtood not to have adopted the proper meaſures for the defence of

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the place. He was ſuperſeded; but when the king came to Cuſtrin, he preſented himſelf before him, and endeavoured to apologize for his conduct. The king coolly replied: "I make no "complaints againſt you: it is myſelf who was "chiefly to blame, in appointing you to ſuch "an office."

CHA

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The king of Pruſſia, having defeated the Ruſſians at Zorndorff, marches into Luſatia.—He is ſurprized by count Daun at Hochkirchen.—Death of mareſchal Keith.—Frederick encamps at Dobreſchutz, and afterwards marches into Sileſia, and raiſes the ſiege of Neiſs, and that of Coſel.—Mareſchal Daun beſieges Dreſden, and part of the ſuburbs deſtroyed by the Pruſſian governor.—The king marches into Saxony, and raiſes the ſiege of Dreſden.—Military operations of the Swedes.—Rigorous treatment of the inhabitants of Leipſic.—Military operations in the electorate of Hanover, and in Weſtphalia.

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IT was no ſooner known by the Auſtrians, that the king of Pruſſia had quitted Bohemia, in order to oppoſe the progreſs of the Ruſſians, than mareſchal Daun, at the head of the Auſtrian army, and the prince de Deux-ponts, who commanded the forces of the empire, marched towards the Elbe, with a view of ſurrounding the king's brother, prince Henry, and with the hope of making themſelves maſters of Saxony. Mareſchal Daun arrived with his army at Stolpen, to the eaſtward of the Elbe; and by ſtationing himſelf there, he preſerved to himſelf an eaſy communication with the army of the empire. He was alſo thereby enabled to interrupt the communication between

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tween Bautzen and Dreſden, and to favour the operations of general Laudohn, who had advanced through the Lower Luſatia to the confines of Brandenburgh. When the duke de Deuxponts had entered Saxony, he made himſelf maſter of the fortreſs of Koningſtein, and took poſſeſſion of the ſtrong camp at Pirna. Prince Henry, who diſplayed the talents of a very able general, had alſo encamped himſelf in a moſt advantageous manner at Dippoldiſwalda, ſo as to cover Dreſden, and command the courſe of the Elbe; but, from the number of his enemies, his ſituation neceſſarily became extremely critical.

THE king of Pruſſia, who knew the dangers which threatened his brother, and the army under his command, immediately reſolved, after the battle of Zorndorff, to march to his relief. On the ſecond of September, he quitted his camp at Cuſtrin, leaving the farther proſecution of hoſtilities againſt the Ruſſians to be conducted by count Dohna. He marched with great rapidity, at the head of twenty-four battalions, and a conſiderable part of his cavalry; on the ninth of the month, he arrived at Groſſen-hayn; and, two days after, he joined his brother near Dreſden.

MARESCHAL Daun, who had no expectations of this junction, now thought proper to give up the deſign which he had formed of attacking prince Henry; and, retiring from the neigh-

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eighbourhood of Dreſden, he fell back as far ; Zittau. General Laudohn abandoned all his lvantages in Lower Luſatia, and drew near to arſchal Daun; while the army of the empire ill kept poſſeſſion of the ſtrong poſt at Pirna, ut without attempting any thing farther. hus had the Pruſſian monarch, in the courſe leſs than three weeks, by his extraordinary certions, intrepid ſpirit, and indefatigable di- gence, fought and defeated a ſuperior body of s enemies, in one extremity of his domini- ns, and baffled, without fighting, another ſu- erior body in the other extremity, in their ſign of attacking prince Henry, and gaining ſſeſſion of Dreſden [a].

After various movements for protecting randenburgh from the incurſions of the Auſ- ians, and cutting off their communication ith Bohemia, Frederick took poſt in the eighbourhood of Hochkirchen, with his left Bautzen; from whence he could command oth Miſnia and Luſatia, and at the ſame time reſerve a communication with the army of rince Henry [b]. The Pruſſian and Auſtrian armies ept the moſt watchful eye upon each other's otions. Matters were now brought to ſuch criſis, that a battle appeared inevitable, and ually deſired by both parties; as an event at would determine whether the Auſtrians

[a] Annual Regiſter, ut ſupra, p. 54.
[b] Hiſt. of Modern Europe, vol. V. p. 315.

ſhould

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ſhould be obliged to retreat for winter-quarters into Bohemia, or be enabled to maintain their ground in Saxony. In this ſtate of affairs, mareſchal Daun reſolved to act offenſively, and formed a ſcheme for attacking the right flank of the Pruſſian army by ſurprize. This meaſure was ſuggeſted to him by an overſight of the Pruſſians, who had neglected to occupy the heights that commanded the village of HOCHKIRCHEN, which was only guarded by a few free companies [z]. Having communicated his deſign to the prince de Deuxponts, he reſolved to take the advantage of a very dark night, and to employ the flower of his army in this important ſervice. He took his meaſures with admirable ſecrecy and circumſpection, making ſuch movements as led the Pruſſians to ſuppoſe that he could have no deſign to attack them; and then ſet out at midnight, in a very dark and foggy night, with his troops in three columns, and marched towards the right of the king of Pruſſia's camp. The firſt care of the Auſtrian troops was to take poſſeſſion of the hill that commanded HOCHKIRCHEN, from whence they poured down upon the village, of which they took poſſeſſion, after having cut in pieces the free companies poſted there [A]. The action began

[z] The free companies were a kind of Militia, and generally much worſe diſciplined than the regular troops.

[A] One account ſays, that the march of the Auſtrians 'was 'made with ſo much ſecrecy and promptitude, that the Pruſ-'ſians

began in this quarter about four in the morning, on the fourteenth of October, and continued ſeveral hours with great fury. For notwithſtanding the impetuous efforts of the Auſtrian troops, and the confuſion occaſioned among the Pruſſians by the ſurprize, a vigorous ſtand was made by ſome general officers, who, with extraordinary expedition and preſence of mind, aſſembled and arranged the troops as they could take to their arms, and led them up to the attack without diſtinction of regiment, place, or precedence [c]. While the action was obſtinately and deſperately maintained in this place, amidſt all the horrors of darkneſs, carnage, and confuſion, the king exerted all his perſonal activity, ſagacity, and military ſkill, in drawing regularity from diſorder, arranging the different corps, altering poſitions, ſtrengthening weak poſts, encouraging the ſoldiery, and oppoſing the efforts of the enemy [d].

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THOUGH the Auſtrians made their chief attack upon the right, by the village of Hoch-

' ſians perceived nothing of their danger, till the moment when ' they ſaw the enemy in their camp. It appeared, that the or- ' ders of the king for guarding the camp had been badly execut- ' ed. The Pruſſians had ſcarcely time to lay hold of their arms. ' In the midſt of the confuſion, which was increaſed by the ' darkneſs of the night, ſome thouſands of the Pruſſians paſſed ' from ſleep to death, and many were killed by their own coun- ' trymen. But, at the break of day, the Auſtrians met with a ' very ſtrong reſiſtance.' Vie de Frederick II. Roy de Pruſſe, tom. II. p. 82, 83.

[c] Smollett, ut ſupra, p. 337. [d] Id. ibid.

kirchen,

CHAP. XVII. A. D. 1758.

kirchen, yet marſhal Daun, in order to divide the attention of the king of Pruſſia, made another attack upon the left, which was ſuſtained with difficulty, and effectually prevented him from ſending reinforcements to the right, where mareſchal Keith oppoſed the enemy with the utmoſt gallantry, under the greateſt diſadvantages. At nine in the morning, that able general, who had before been wounded, received a ſecond wound, which put an end to his life [B]. Prince Francis of Brunſwick alſo had

[B] Dr. Smollet ſays, that 'Field-mareſchal Keith, who arrived in the camp the very day that preceded the battle, diſapproved of the ſituation of the Pruſſian army, and remonſtrated to the king on that ſubject. In conſequence of his advice, a certain general was ſent with a detachment to take poſſeſſion of the heights that commanded the village of Hochkirchen; but by ſome fatality he miſcarried. Mareſchal Keith was not in any tent, but lodged with prince Francis of Brunſwick, in a houſe belonging to a Saxon major. When the firſt alarm was given in the night, he inſtantly mounted his horſe, aſſembled a body of the neareſt troops, and marched directly to the place that was attacked. The Auſtrians had taken poſſeſſion of the hill, which the Pruſſian officer was ſent to occupy, and this they fortified with cannon. Then they made themſelves maſters of the village, in which the free companies of Anginelli had been poſted. Mareſchal Keith immediately conceived the deſign of the Auſtrian general, and knowing the importance of the place, thither directed all his efforts. He in perſon led on the troops to the attack of the village, from whence he drove the enemy; but being overpowered by numbers continually pouring down from the hills, he was obliged to retire in his turn. He rallied his

men,

had his head ſhot off by a cannon ball, as he mounted his horſe; prince Maurice of Anhalt was wounded and taken priſoner; and many other officers were either killed or

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'men, returned to the charge, and regained poſſeſſion of the 'place. Being again repulſed by freſh reinforcements of the 'enemy, he made another effort, entered the village a third 'time, and finding it untenable, ordered it to be ſet on fire. 'Thus he kept the Auſtrians at bay, and maintained a deſperate 'conflict againſt the flower of the Auſtrian army, from four in 'the morning till nine, when the Pruſſians were formed, and 'began to file off in their retreat. During the whole diſpute he 'rallied the troops in perſon, charged at their head, and ex'poſed his life in the hotteſt of a dreadful fire, like a private cap'tain of grenadiers. He found it neceſſary to exert himſelf in 'this manner, the better to remove the bad effects of the confu'ſion that prevailed, and in order to inſpirit the troops to their 'utmoſt exertion by his voice, preſence, and example. Even 'when dangerouſly wounded, at eight in the morning, he 'refuſed to quit the field; but continued to ſignalize himſelf 'in the midſt of the carnage until nine, when he received a 'ſecond ſhot in his breaſt, and fell ſpeechleſs into the arms of 'Mr. Tibay, an Engliſh volunteer, who had attended him dur'ing the whole campaign.' The body of the mareſchal was afterwards, 'ſtripped by the Auſtrian ſtragglers, and lay ex'poſed and undiſtinguiſhed on the field of battle. In this ſitua'tion it was perceived by count Laſci, ſon of the general of that 'name, with whom mareſchal Keith had ſerved in Ruſſia: 'This young count had been the mareſchal's pupil, and revered 'him as his military father, though employed in the Auſtrian 'ſervice. He recognized the body by the large ſcar of a 'dangerous wound, which general Keith had received in his 'thigh at the ſiege of Oczakow, and could not help burſting into 'tears to ſee his honoured maſter thus extended at his feet, a 'naked, lifeleſs, and deſerted corpſe. He forthwith cauſed the 'body to be covered and interred.' Hiſt. of England, ut ſupra, p. 339, 340.

diſabled.

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diſabled. The Auſtrians continued to proſecute their attack with ſucceſſive reinforcements, and redoubled reſolution; ſo that, at about ten in the morning, Frederick found himſelf obliged to retreat to Dobreſchutz, about half a league from the field of battle. But though the Pruſſian troops had never been properly drawn up in order, and were embarraſſed by their tents, which continued ſtanding during the whole action, the king's retreat was performed in good order, under the cover of a great fire from the Pruſſian artillery, which on this occaſion was placed in the center of his van [d]. The Auſtrians, however, took part of the king's baggage, all his tents, ſome military trophies, and many pieces of cannon. The loſs of the Pruſſians in killed, wounded, and priſoners, amounted to ſeven thouſand; and the loſs of the Auſtrians is ſaid to have been not much inferior. Frederick himſelf was ſlightly wounded in the action [e], and he ſuſtained a great loſs in the death of mareſchal Keith [c], who had very

[d] Entick's Hiſt. of the War, vol. III. p 348.

[e] Vie de Frederick II. Roi de Pruſſe, ut ſupra, p. 83.

[c] JAMES KEITH, who was the younger ſon of George Keith, earl-marſhal of Scotland, was born in that kingdom, in the year 1698. He was initiated in the Latin language by Mr. Thomas Ruddiman, well known for his excellent Rudiments of the Latin tongue; and was afterwards removed to the Mariſchal college at Aberdeen, which was founded by one of his anceſtors. He was ſeventeen years of age at the breaking out of the rebellion in Scotland in 1715, in which he joined with his brother, the earl-marſhal, and was wounded at the battle of Sheriffmuir.

Being

very diſtinguiſhed military talents, and for whom he had a great perſonal eſteem and regard. CHAP. XXVII. A. D. 1758.

THOUGH

Being obliged to relinquiſh his country, he followed his brother into Spain, and obtained a commiſſion in the Iriſh brigade in that kingdom, then commanded by the duke of Ormond. In this ſituation he continued ten years, when, finding no opportunity of diſtinguiſhing himſelf, he obtained recommendations to Catharine I. empreſs of Ruſſia, who received him with marks of particular favour, and gave him a commiſſion of brigadier general. He was afterwards made a major-general; and, in 1734, was raiſed to the rank of lieutenant-general, and went with the Ruſſian troops into Germany. In 1737, he ſerved againſt the Turks, and diſtinguiſhed himſelf greatly at the taking of Oczakow, where he was wounded. On the return of peace, the empreſs Anne ſent him to the court of London, as her ambaſſador extraordinary. But when he appeared at court, he was obliged to aſſume the appearance of a Ruſſian, both in dreſs and language; for king George II. would not permit him to ſpeak at an audience without an interpreter. When he had finiſhed his embaſſy, he returned again to Peterſburgh, where he was greatly careſſed by the czarina. In 1741, and 1742, he commanded the Ruſſian troops againſt the Swedes, and gained the battle of Wilmanſtrand; and alſo diſpoſſeſſed the Swedes of the iſle of Aland in the Baltick.

After the peace of Abo, in 1743, he was appointed ambaſſador extraordinary to compliment the king of Sweden on the election of a ſucceſſor to the crown. But the ſplendor in which he appeared on this occaſion at Stockholm greatly reduced his finances; and he was even obliged to pawn his jewels, to keep up the dignity of his appearance. On his return to Ruſſia, he was honoured with a mareſchal's ſtaff; but finding the pay of that country not ſufficient to ſupport his rank, he accepted of an invitation from the king of Pruſſia to enter into his ſervice. In 1747, he quitted the Ruſſian ſervice, and entered into that of Pruſſia, as field-mareſchal; and in 1749, he was made a knight of the order of the black eagle, and governor of Berlin, with a

penſion

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THOUGH the king of Pruſſia had been ſurprized at HOCHKIRCHEN, in a manner ſo ſudden and ſo unexpected, and though his loſs had been conſiderable, yet the manner, in which he conducted himſelf on this occaſion, afforded a new diſplay of his abilities. His troops had been ſurprized and attacked in a dark night and by ſuperior numbers; and when they had recourſe to their arms, they were almoſt naked, and in the utmoſt confuſion; but they had notwithſtanding made a moſt vigorous reſiſtance, and maintained the fight for near five hours. The king himſelf exhibited uncommon generalſhip, as well as the utmoſt intrepidity; and he conducted his retreat in admirable order, and without being purſued by the enemy.

THE ſurprize of the king of Pruſſia at Hochkirchen was made a great ſubject of triumph at Vienna; and it even afforded no inconſiderable

penſion of 12,000 dollars, beſides his pay. He greatly diſtinguiſhed himſelf in the Pruſſian ſervice, in the campaigns of 1756, 1757, and 1758; but being killed at the battle of Hochkirchen he was decently buried by the curate of that village. His body was afterwards removed to Berlin, by order of the king of Pruſſia, and interred with great funeral honours; and a ſtatue was likewiſe erected to his memory in that city.

General Lloyd ſays of mareſchal Keith, that "he was middle-ſized, had a very martial countenance, and was a humane and benevolent man; and count Algarotti ſays, that "he had ſtudied his profeſſion with the judgment and penetration of an Engliſhman;" and that "in the midſt of arms, he always found means to cultivate letters."

degree

degree of ſatisfaction to the then pope, Clement XIII. who had been much pleaſed with the union between the houſes of Auſtria and Bourbon, which he thought might be beneficial to the intereſts of the Catholic religion. He, therefore, ſent his bleſſing to mareſchal Daun, together with a ſword and a hat, on both of which he alſo beſtowed his benediction. Theſe marks of favour from his holineſs to the Auſtrian general were a ſubject of much pleaſantry to the Pruſſian monarch; who afterwards frequently ſtiled Daun "the bleſſed general," and "the man with the papal cap."

AFTER his ſurprize at Hochkirchen, Frederick remained with his army ten days at Dobreſchutz, during which he endeavoured to bring the Auſtrians to a ſecond engagement; but this, notwithſtanding his late ſucceſs, was declined by mareſchal Daun, who kept his forces advantageouſly poſted on eminences planted with artillery. In the mean time, the Auſtrian generals, Harſche and de Ville, had formed the ſiege of Neiſs, and the blockade of Coſel; and as the king could not bring count Daun to an action, he reſolved to march immediately to the relief of Sileſia. Committing, therefore, the care of Saxony to his brother prince Henry, he quitted his camp at Dobreſchutz, and marched to Gorlitz, without the leaſt interruption. From thence he proceeded towards Sileſia with his uſual rapidity, notwithſtanding all the activity of general Laudohn, who, with a corps

of

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of twenty-four thouſand men, continually harraſſed his rear-guard. Count Daun not only ſent his detached corps to retard the king in his march, but, at the ſame time, by another route, detached a ſtrong reinforcement to the army of the beſiegers. Frederick, however, on his arrival at Neiſs, obliged the Auſtrians to raiſe the ſiege, leaving a conſiderable quantity of military ſtores behind them. He alſo compelled the Auſtrians to abandon the blockade of Coſel; and the armies, under the generals Harſche and de Ville, fell back into Bohemia.

In the mean time, count Daun having received intelligence, that the army of prince Henry in Saxony was conſiderably weakened, by detachments that had been ſent to the king, he himſelf marched thither, hoping, in the abſence of Frederick, to be able to drive the prince out of that country. He had formed, indeed, deſigns which were ſtill more extenſive; for he propoſed to reduce Dreſden, Leipſic, and Torgau at the ſame time. The firſt, with the main body under his own direction; the ſecond, by the army of the empire under the prince de Deuxponts; and the third, by a corps under general Haddick. In the execution of this plan, he marched directly to the Elbe, which he paſſed at Pirna, and on the ſixth of November he appeared within ſight of Dreſden, at the head of ſixty thouſand men.

He

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le encamped the next day at Lockowitz, and he day following his advanced troops attacked he Pruſſian huſſars and independent battalions, vhich were poſted at Streiſſen and Gruene-Wieſe.

Count Schmettau, who commanded the Pruſ-ian garriſon, amounting to ten thouſand men, eing apprehenſive that the Auſtrian troops night enter the ſuburbs, he poſted colonel tzenplitz, with ſeven hundred men, in the re-loubts that ſurrounded the ſuburbs, that in aſe of emergency they might ſupport the ir-egulars. But as the houſes that conſtituted he ſuburbs were generally ſo high as to over-ook the ramparts, and command the city, he repared combuſtibles, and gave notice to the nagiſtrates, that they would be ſet on fire, as oon as a ſingle Auſtrian ſhould appear within he place. This was a very alarming declara-ion to the inhabitants of theſe ſuburbs, which ompoſed one of the moſt elegant towns in Europe. In theſe houſes, which were gene-ally lofty and magnificent, the faſhionable nd wealthy claſs of people reſided; and here a number of artiſts carried on a variety of cu-rious manufactures. The magiſtrates beſought the forbearance of the Pruſſian governor, and repreſented, that as they were unconcerned in the war, they hoped they ſhould be exempt-ed from the horrors of devaſtation. Such of the royal family as ſtill remained at Dreſden,

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alſo joined their ſupplications to thoſe of the magiſtrates; and they implored him to ſpare that laſt refuge of diſtreſſed royalty, and to allow at leaſt a ſecure reſidence to thoſe, who had been deprived of every thing elſe. But all entreaties were in vain. Count Schmettau told them, that their ſafety depended on mareſchal Daun; that if he made no attempts, the ſuburbs would be ſtill ſecure; but that if he took any farther ſteps, the neceſſity of his maſter's ſervice, and his own honour, would compel him to act in a manner that was very contrary to the lenity of his own diſpoſition.

On the ninth of the month, about noon, the Auſtrian vanguard attacked the advanced poſt of the garriſon, repelled the huſſars, drove the independent battalions into the ſuburbs, and forced three of the redoubts, while their cannon played upon the town. The governor expecting a vigorous attack the next day, gave orders for ſetting fire to a part of the ſuburbs, which was executed at three in the morning. More than two hundred and ſixty houſes were reduced to aſhes; a few perſons alſo loſt their lives, and many their wholo ſubſtance [D]. Mareſchal

[D] An account of this conflagration, with ſome conſiderable exaggerations, was preſented by the Saxon miniſter to the diet of the empire. This piece was printed: but it was afterwards proved, that ſeveral of the facts ſtated in it were not true; and theſe exaggerations of the Saxon miniſter furniſhed the Pruſſian miniſters

Mareſchal Daun remonſtrated againſt the Pruſſian governor's conduct in this tranſaction; but he maintained, that he was juſtified in his conduct by the laws of war [E]; that he had orders to defend the town to the laſt extremity; and that if the Auſtrian general ſhould think proper farther to attack the place, he would defend himſelf from ſtreet to ſtreet, and from houſe to houſe, and would even make his laſt effort in the royal palace, rather than abandon the city.

THE conduct of the Pruſſian governor, as well as of his royal maſter, reſpecting this

miniſters with a plauſible pretext, for exclaiming againſt the means, which, they ſaid, were employed "to blacken the Pruſſian cauſe." It was the more impolitic in the Saxon miniſter to publiſh any miſrepreſentations upon the ſubject, as the conduct of the king of Pruſſia reſpecting Saxony certainly required no exaggeration.

[E] Dr. Smollet ſays, that the Pruſſian governor 'excuſed 'the deſtruction of the ſuburbs as a neceſſary meaſure, authoriz-'ed by the practice of war; but he would have found it a diffi-'cult taſk to reconcile this ſtep to the laws of eternal juſtice, 'and far leſs to the dictates of common humanity. Indeed, if 'the ſcene had happened in an enemy's country, or if no other 'ſtep could have ſaved the lives and liberties of himſelf and his 'garriſon, ſuch a deſperate remedy might have ſtood excuſed by the 'law of nature and of nations; but on this occaſion he occupi-'ed a neutral city, over which he could exerciſe no other power 'and authority but that which he derived from illegal force and 'violence; nor was he at all reduced to the neceſſity of ſa-'crificing the place to his own ſafety, inaſmuch as he might 'have retired unmoleſted, by virtue of an honourable capitula-'tion, which however he did not demand.' Hiſt. of England, ut ſupra, p. 343.

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tranſaction, has been vindicated by ſeveral writers. If the ſuburbs had not been conſumed, there would, it is ſaid, have been danger, that the Auſtrians might have taken Dreſden from the king of Pruſſia. It ſhould, however, have been remembered, that Dreſden [F] did not belong to the king of Pruſſia, and that he had

[F] The city of DRESDEN has never recovered from what it ſuffered during this war, in conſequence of the invaſion of the king of Pruſſia, and his bombardment of it, after it was taken poſſeſſion of by the army of the empire. Dr. Burney ſays, 'During the 'reign of Auguſtus III. this city was regarded by the reſt of Europe as the Athens of modern times. All the arts, but particularly thoſe of muſic, poetry, and painting, were loved and cheriſhed by that prince, with a zeal and munificence, greater than 'can be found in the brighteſt period of ancient hiſtory. But, 'perhaps, ſome part of the late and preſent diſtreſſes of this country, 'have originated in this exceſſive magnificence. The gardens of 'the late miniſter, count Brubl, which are ſituated on the banks 'of the Elbe, and open to the public, command a delightful proſpect of that river, of its hilly and fertile banks, towards Pirna, 'and of the new town, and beautiful bridge, leading to it. A moſt 'magnificent and elegant temple in theſe gardens was reduced to 'a heap of rubbiſh, in which it ſtill lies, during the Pruſſian bombardment; and the Saxons accuſe his Pruſſian majeſty of carrying perſonal reſentment againſt their miniſter ſo far, as to order 'his engineer to point his artillery at the temple and other buildings, as well as ſtatues in theſe gardens. However this may 'have been, not a ſtreet of this once charming city has recovered 'the devaſtations of the laſt war.' Preſent State of Muſic in Germany, &c. vol. II. p. 59, 60, 61. edit. 1775.

In another place the ſame ingenious writer, ſpeaking of Dreſden, ſays, 'Every one here is in the utmoſt indigence.—Moſt of 'the nobility and gentry are too much impoveriſhed, to be able 'to afford to learn, or to let their children learn muſic. The 'Saxons of old, ſo remarkable for patience, induſtry, and probity, 'are

had obtained poſſeſſion of it only by violence and by injuſtice. He could, therefore, have no right to conſume the houſes of the inhabitants, or to reduce them to indigence and miſery, in order to anſwer a temporary purpoſe to himſelf. But, in many other inſtances, what are called the laws of war have been repeatedly urged, in vindication of acts of unneceſſary and wanton barbarity; though if it be neceſſary that wars ſhould be continued among mankind, and if it be proper that there ſhould be LAWS OF WAR, it might notwithſtanding be hoped, that, in an enlightened age, even theſe LAWS would undergo ſome reviſion, and be rendered more conſonant to common ſenſe, and common humanity.

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'are now reduced to knavery and chicane, beyond the inhabitants 'of any other country. Dreſden is at preſent a melancholy reſi'dence: from being the ſeat of the Muſes, and habitation of plea'ſure, it is now only a dwelling for beggary, theft, and wretch'edneſs. No ſociety among the natives can be ſupported; all 'muſt retrench; the court is obliged to abandon genius and ta'lents, and is, in turn, abandoned by them. Except the wretched 'comic opera, there is no one ſpectacle, but that of miſery to be ſeen 'at Dreſden; no *guinguette*, no public diverſion in the city or ſu'burbs, for the people, and not a boat or veſſel, either of pleaſure 'or buſineſs, can be deſcried on the river Elbe, which is here 'nearly as wide as the Thames at London-bridge.' Ibid. p. 58.

Dr. Burney alſo ſays of LEIPSIC, that 'this city has not yet 'recovered its rigorous treatment during the laſt war; and its 'celebrated fair, which uſed to be the rendezvous of the rich, the 'gay, and the induſtrious citizens of every quarter of the globe, 'as well as an aſſembly of the ſovereign princes and nobility of all 'the northern parts of Europe, ſeems now dwindled into a com'mon mart, or quarterly fair, ſuch as is held in a ſmall Engliſh 'market-town.' Ibid. p. 72.

WHEN

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When the king of Pruſſia had raiſed the ſieges of Neiſs and Coſel, he immediately marched back again into Saxony. At his approach, count Daun raiſed the ſiege of Dreſden, where Frederick arrived on the twentieth of November, and expreſſed his approbation of the conduct of count Schmettau. The prince of Deuxponts alſo raiſed the ſiege of Leipſic, and both he and mareſchal Daun retired with their forces into Bohemia. The Auſtrian general, Haddick, was alſo obliged to abandon the ſiege of Torgau; as the Ruſſians likewiſe were that of Colberg, in Pruſſian Pomerania, which they had inveſted in the courſe of their retreat, after the battle of Zorndorff. So that, by the extraordinary activity of the king of Pruſſia, and his generals, ſix ſieges were raiſed nearly at the ſame time; that of Neiſs, of Coſel, of Dreſden, of Leipſic, of Torgau, and of Colberg[a].

The Swedes, in the courſe of this year, had recovered Swediſh Pomerania, and even made incurſions into the Pruſſian territories. Their general, count Hamilton, had advanced as far as Fehrbellin, and ſent out parties that raiſed contributions within twenty-five miles of Berlin, and threw the inhabitants of that capital into great conſternation. General Wedel was thereupon ſent by the king from Dreſden to Berlin, to oppoſe the progreſs of the Swedes; and having aſſembled eleven thouſand men, he pro-

[a] Annual Regiſter, vol. I. p. 62.

ceede-

ceeded at the head of them againſt the Swediſh general; while the prince of Bevern, with five thouſand, advanced on the other ſide from Stettin. At their approach, the Swediſh commander retired, after having left a garriſon of fourteen hundred men at Fehrbellin, in order to retard the Pruſſians, and ſecure the retreat of his army. The place was immediately attacked by general Wedel; and though the Swedes diſputed the ground from houſe to houſe with great reſolution, he at laſt drove them out of the town, with the loſs of one half their number, either killed or taken priſoners. After this, the body of the Swediſh army, without hazarding any other action, immediately evacuated the Pruſſian territories, and retired to the neighbourhood of Stralſund.

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Dr. Smollett, ſpeaking of the military operations of Frederick, during the campaign of the year 1758, makes the following obſervations: 'The variety of fortune which the king 'of Pruſſia experienced in the courſe of this 'campaign was very remarkable; but the ſpi'rit of his conduct, and the rapidity of his 'motions, were altogether without example. 'In the former campaign, we were dazzled 'with the luſtre of his victories; in this we 'admire his fortitude and ſkill in ſtemming 'the different torrents of adverſity, and riſing 'ſuperior to his evil fortune. One can hardly 'without aſtoniſhment recollect, that in the 'courſe of a few months he invaded Moravia,

'inveſted

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'inveſted Olmutz, and was obliged to relinquiſh that deſign; that he marched through an enemy's country, in the face of a great army, which, though it harraſſed him in his retreat, could not, in a route of an hundred miles, obtain any advantage over him; that in ſpite of his diſaſter at Olmutz, and the difficulties of ſuch a march, he penetrated into Bohemia, drove the enemy from Koningſgratz, executed another dangerous and fatiguing march to the Oder, defeated a great army of Ruſſians, and returned by the way of Saxony, from whence he drove the Auſtrian and Imperial armies; that after his defeat at Hochkirchen, where he loſt two of his beſt generals, and was obliged to leave his tents ſtanding, he baffled the vigilance and ſuperior number of the victorious army, ruſhed like a whirlwind to the relief of Sileſia, invaded by an Auſtrian army, which he compelled to retire with precipitation from that province; that, with the ſame rapidity of motion, he wheeled about to Saxony, and once more reſcued it from the hands of his adverſaries; that, in one campaign, he made twice the circuit of his dominions, relieved them all in their turns, and kept all his poſſeſſions entire againſt the united efforts of numerous armies, conducted by generals of conſummate ſkill, and undaunted reſolution [b],'

FROM the beginning of the preſent war, Frederick had treated the inhabitants of Saxony

[b] Hiſt. of England, ut ſupra, p. 347.

with

with great injuſtice and inhumanity; and he now made the acts of cruelty and violence, which had been committed in his dominions by the Ruſſians, a pretence for increaſing the oppreſſions of the Saxons, and augmenting his exactions. On the twenty-ſecond of September, M. Borck, preſident of the Pruſſian military directory, ſent a letter to the magiſtrates of Leipſic, requiring them, in the king's name, to pay a new contribution of ſix hundred thouſand crowns, and to begin immediately with the payment of one third part, on pain of military execution. In anſwer to this demand the magiſtrates repreſented, that the city having been exhauſted by the enormous contributions before raiſed, was abſolutely incapable of furniſhing farther ſupplies; and that the trade of the city was ſo ruined, and the inhabitants ſo impoveriſhed, that they could not even pay the ordinary taxes. But this remonſtrance made no impreſſion. On the twenty-fourth of the month, at five in the morning, the Pruſſian ſoldiers aſſembled, and were poſted in all the ſtreets, ſquares, and market-places of the city. The gates were afterwards ſhut, in order to exclude the populace of the ſuburbs from the city; and the ſenators were brought into the town-hall, and accoſted by general Hauſs, who told them, that the king his maſter would have money; and if they refuſed to part with it, the city ſhould be plundered. The magiſtrates replied, "We have no more money; we "have

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" have nothing left but life; and we recom-
" mend ourſelves to the king's mercy;" In conſequence of this declaration, diſpoſitions were made for giving up the city to be plundered. Cannon were planted in the ſtreets, and the inhabitants were ordered to remain within doors; but the apprehended pillage was converted into a regular exaction. A party of ſoldiers, commanded by a ſubaltern, went from houſe to houſe, ſignifying to every burgher, that he ſhould produce all his ſpecie, on pain of immediate pillage and maſſacre; and the inhabitants accordingly delivered up their money. About ſix in the evening, the ſoldiers returned to their quarters; but the magiſtrates were ſtill continued for ſome time in confinement [c].

On the ſecond of December following, the Pruſſian directory of war ſent a decree to the deputies of the ſtates of Saxony, demanding a certain quantity of flour and forage; and alſo acquainting them, " That though the king of
" Pruſſia had hitherto treated the electorate of
" Saxony as a country which he had taken un-
" der his ſpecial protection, the face of af-
" fairs was now changed in ſuch a manner,
" that his majeſty would conſider it, for the
" future, only as a conquered country, out of
" which he had driven his enemies by force

[c] Smollett, ut ſupra, p. 347, 348. London Magazine, vol. XXVII. p. 521, 522.

" of

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"of arms[a]." The Ruſſians had ſeized in Pruſſia the eſtates and effects belonging to the Pruſſian officers; and a retaliation was now made upon the effects of the Saxon officers who ſerved in the Ruſſian army. All the revenues of the Saxon miniſters were ſequeſtered; and they were themſelves ordered to depart for Warſaw in twenty-four hours. Freſh contributions were required of the inhabitants of Leipſic; and the king cauſed the exchange of that city to be ſurrounded with ſoldiers, and the merchants to be confined in narrow lodgings on ſtraw beds, till they were obliged, by their ſufferings, to draw bills for large ſums on their foreign correſpondents[c]: a ſpecies of oppreſſion and tyranny, of which Frederick appears to have been the inventor [o].

SUCH

[a] Entick's Hiſt. of the War, vol. III. p. 388.

[c] Annual Regiſter, vol. I. p. 64. Entick, p. 388, 389. Smollett, p. 349.

[o] Dr. Smollett, ſpeaking of the conduct of the king of Pruſſia on this occaſion, ſays, that it was 'much more ſuitable 'to the deſpotiſm of a Perſian ſophi towards a conquered people who profeſſed a different faith, than reconcilable to the 'character of a Proteſtant prince towards a peaceable nation of 'brethren, with whom he was connected by the common ties 'of neighbourhood and religion. Even if they had acted as 'declared enemies, and been ſubdued with arms in their hands, 'the exceſſes of war on the ſide of the conqueror ought to have 'ceaſed with the hoſtilities of the conquered, who, by ſubmitting to his ſway, would have become his ſubjects, and in that 'capacity had a claim to his protection. To retaliate upon 'the Saxons, who had eſpouſed no quarrel, the barbarities 'committed by the Ruſſians, with whom he was actually at 'war, and to treat as a conquered province a neutral country, 'which

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Such was the treatment which the inhabitants of Saxony received from the king of Pruſſia, who had declared, in the moſt ſolemn manner, when he entered their country, that he did it with no hoſtile views againſt his Poliſh majeſty, or againſt his dominions; that his troops entered not Saxony as enemies; and that he marched them into it only for his own ſafety, and that of his dominions. It has been pretended, that Frederick's treatment of the inhabitants of Saxony was juſtified by the neceſſity of his affairs. But it is certain that no neceſſity ſubſiſted which could juſtify ſuch conduct as that which he exhibited; and whatever neceſſity there was, had been created by himſelf, and cannot, therefore, be juſtly urged in extenuation of his conduct.

In the courſe of this year, Frederick alſo laid Swediſh Pomerania under contribution; and

'which his enemies had entered by violence, and been obliged 'to evacuate by force of arms, was a ſpecies of conduct found-'ed on pretences, which overturn all right, and confound all rea-'ſon.' Hiſt. of England, ut ſupra, p. 349, 350.

Dr. Smollett, though, in ſundry parts of his hiſtory, he has manifeſted himſelf to be a very exceptionable hiſtorian, has yet made many juſt remarks on the conduct of the king of Pruſſia, into whoſe tranſactions he has entered ſomewhat more copiouſly, than might naturally have been expected in a Hiſtory of England. He ſeems to have thought, that as the people of England paid ſo much for their connexion with the king of Pruſſia, they had the better claim to accurate information reſpecting his tranſactions.

having

having received information, that the duke of Mecklenburgh-Schwerin was employed in providing magazines for the French army, he detached a body of troops into that country, who not only ſecured the magazines, but levied conſiderable contributions; and the duke himſelf was obliged to retire to Lubeck. This prince afterwards preſented a memorial by his miniſter to the diet at Ratiſbon, in which he ſtated, that the Pruſſians had ravaged his country, and diſtreſſed it by grievous extortions; and that they had demanded ſuch quantities of proviſions, ſuch exorbitant ſums of money, and ſo many recruits, that his territories were greatly impoveriſhed, and almoſt depopulated by theſe oppreſſions [H].

EARLY in the preſent year, the Hanoverian troops under the command of prince Ferdinand of Brunſwick, who was reinforced by a body of Pruſſian horſe, had great ſucceſs againſt

[H] In a piece publiſhed about this time, by the court of France, is the following paſſage: 'The Pruſſians have entered 'the territories of the duke of Mecklenburgh ſword in hand, 'without any reaſon, and in contempt of the public peace. 'The duke they have obliged to ſeek refuge at Lubeck; they 'have taken poſſeſſion of the fortreſſes; and by deſpotic orders, 'without any payment, have cauſed themſelves to be ſupplied 'with the corn and forage. The young men have been forced 'away from their parents, to enliſt them, and make them fight 'againſt their own ſovereign. In a word, without the ſlighteſt 'complaint againſt the duke of Mecklenburgh, his duchy is 'treated by the Pruſſians like a conquered country.' Annual Regiſter, vol. I. p. 206.

the

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the French in the electorate of Hanover. They puſhed the French from poſt to poſt, and obliged them to evacuate ſucceſſively Otterberg, Bremen, and Verden. The town and caſtle of Hoya, on the Weſer, where the French attempted to make a ſtand, were alſo reduced by the hereditary prince of Brunſwick; while his uncle, prince Ferdinand, recovered the city of Minden, on the ſame river, and made priſoners a garriſon of four thouſand men[f]. An Engliſh ſquadron, under the command of commodore Holmes, alſo compelled the French to abandon Embden, a ſea-port in Eaſt Frieſland, which they had taken from the king of Pruſſia.

THE duke de Richelieu, who had commanded the French troops in Germany, was now recalled from thence, and his place ſupplied by the count de Clermont, much to the ſatisfaction of the Hanoverians, among whom Richelieu was charged with having committed many acts of rapine and oppreſſion. The new general found the French army greatly reduced, by the accidents of war, and diſeaſes occaſioned by hard duty, ſevere weather, and the want of neceſſaries [1]. As he could not, therefore, prevent prince Ferdinand from executing his

[f] Hiſt. of Modern Europe, vol. V. p. 304.

[1] In a letter written by a gentleman at Zell to his friend at London, dated March 9, 1758, which was publiſhed by Mr. Ertick, is the following paſſage: "the French ſent laſt year, "119,000

his deſigns, nor even maintain the footing which his predeceſſor had gained, he found himſelf under the neceſſity of retiring with all poſſible expedition towards the Rhine. As the allies advanced, the French troops retreated from their diſtant quarters with ſuch precipitation, as to leave behind them all their ſick, together with a great part of their baggage and artillery, beſides a great number of officers and ſoldiers, who fell into the hands of thoſe parties by whom they were purſued. The inhabitants of Hanover finding that the French intended to abandon that city, were apprehenſive of being ſubjected to violence and inſult; but they were happily diſappointed by the benevolent behaviour of the duke de Randan, the French governor. This amiable nobleman, when he had orders to evacuate the place, inſtead of deſtroying his magazine of proviſions, according to the uſual practice of war, ordered the whole to be either ſold, at a low price, or diſtributed among the poor of the city. He alſo employed all his vigilance to prevent his ſoldiers from committing any act of irregularity or violence, and was himſelf the laſt man that marched out of the town. So meritorious was his conduct, that he received a letter of thanks for it from the regency of Hanover; and when a

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"119,000 men from France, and now they have not 46,000 "left. The reſt died in the hoſpitals, or fell in battles and "ſkirmiſhes." Hiſt. of the War, vol. III. p. 134.

day

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day of thankſgiving was appointed, on account of their being delivered from their enemies, the Hanoverian clergy particularly celebrated in their ſermons the benevolence and generoſity of the duke de Randan [g].

The French army having paſſed the Rhine, prince Ferdinand alſo paſſed that river, attacked the count de Clermont at Crevelt, and obliged him to retire under the cannon of Cologn; with the loſs of ſeven thouſand men, and many officers of diſtinction. Prince Ferdinand ſoon after made himſelf maſter of Duſſeldorff, and afterwards put his army into winter-quarters, in the biſhoprics of Munſter, Paderborn, and Hildeſheim [h]. His army had been previouſly joined by a body of Britiſh troops, who had landed at Embden; but they arrived too late to have any opportunity of ſignalizing themſelves in the field, during that campaign; and their commander, the duke of Marlborough, died ſoon after of a dyſentery at Munſter.

On the ſeventh of December, 1758, the third treaty between Great Britain and Pruſſia was concluded at London, by which his Britannick majeſty agreed to pay to the king of Pruſſia a ſecond ſubſidy of 670,000l. ſterling, to be paid in one payment, immediately on the ex-

[g] Smollett, p. 311, 312. Annual Regiſter, vol. I. p. 35, 36. Hiſt. of Modern Europe, ut ſupra.

[h] Hiſt. of Modern Europe, p. 307—310.

change

change of the ratifications. It was again ſtipulated, that neither party ſhould conclude any treaty of peace, truce, or other convention, but by common advice and mutual conſent.

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CHAP. XXVIII.

Frederick ſends a body of troops into Poland, and deſtroys the magazines of the Ruſſians in that country.—The magazines of the Auſtrians in Bohemia, alſo deſtroyed by prince Henry of Pruſſia.—Manifeſtoes publiſhed by count Dohna, on his entering Poland, at the head of a Pruſſian army.—Battle of Zulichau.—Battle of Kunerſdorff.—General Fink ſurrounded, and taken priſoner, with near fifteen thouſand Pruſſians under his command, at Maxen.—Military operations of prince Ferdinand of Brunſwick.—Declaration of their Britannick and Pruſſian majeſties to the ſeveral belligerent powers.—Frederick's declaration relative to the removal of his priſoners to Spandau.

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THE king of Pruſſia had found the Ruſſians an enemy ſo extremely formidable, that he thought it neceſſary to exert himſelf to the utmoſt, to impede their progreſs, and to prevent the ſucceſs of their operations againſt him. He was particularly attentive to cutting off their means of ſubſiſtence; and accordingly having received information, that large magazines had been erected for their uſe in Poland, he detached, about the middle of February, 1759, forty-ſix ſquadrons, and twenty-ſix battalions,

talions, under general Woberſnow, from Glogau in Sileſia, who entered Poland, and deſtroyed ſeveral immenſe magazines belonging to the Ruſſians. One in particular, which was at Poſna, and which was guarded by two thouſand Coſſacks, is ſaid to have contained as much flour, as would have fed fifty thouſand men for three months [a]. In this expedition, the Pruſſians alſo attacked the caſtle of prince Sulkowſki, a Poliſh grandee, who had intereſted himſelf againſt the king of Pruſſia, compelled him to ſurrender, and carried him and his garriſon priſoners into Sileſia [K]. They alſo loaded three hundred waggons with proviſions and forage, which he had collected for the Ruſſians [b].

[a] Entick's Hiſt. of the war, vol. III. p. 454, 455.

[K] In one of the accounts publiſhed of this tranſaction, it is ſaid, that 'the Pruſſians raiſed contributions as far as Poſna, 'that they deſtroyed the Ruſſian magazines, and carried off by 'force from his eſtates prince Sulkowſki, a poliſh grandee, and 'conveyed him as a priſoner to Glogau, with his guard, which 'conſiſted of two hundred men. His crime was, that he was 'ſuſpected of having raiſed theſe two hundred men for the 'Ruſſian army.' Vie de Frederick II. Roy de Pruſſe, tom. II. p. 93. Prince Sulkowſki, as a Pole, had as much right to act againſt the king of Pruſſia, as for him; and the rather, as his own prince, the king of Poland, was in alliance with the Ruſſians, and had been driven out of his electoral dominions by the Pruſſian monarch. The conduct of Frederick, therefore, in conveying in ſuch a manner out of his own country, and from his own eſtates, a man of high rank, whoſe only crime was having attached himſelf to the cauſe of his own ſovereign, appears to have been in a very high degree unjuſt, oppreſſive, and tyrannical.

[b] Ib. ibid.

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About the latter end of March Frederick himſelf aſſembled his army at Rhoſtock, near Striegau, and advancing to the neighbourhood of Landſhut, in Sileſia, encamped at Bolchenhayn. In the mean time, the Auſtrian army, under the command of mareſchal Daun, aſſembled at Munchengratz, in Bohemia; and the campaign was opened by an exploit of the Auſtrian general Beck, who ſurprized and made priſoners a battalion of Pruſſian grenadiers, poſted under colonel Duringſheven, at Grieffenberg, on the frontiers of Sileſia. But this advantage, gained by the Auſtrians, was more than counterbalanced by the activity and ſucceſs of prince Henry of Pruſſia, who commanded the army which had wintered in Saxony. In the month of April, he marched in two columns towards Bohemia, forced the paſs of Peterſwalde, deſtroyed a magazine of the Auſtrians at Auſſig, burned their boats upon the Elbe, ſeized the proviſions and forage which they had collected at Loboſchutz and Leutmeritz, and demoliſhed a new bridge which they had erected for their own convenience. At the ſame time, general Hulſen attacked the paſs of Paſsberg, which was guarded by the Auſtrian general Renard, who was taken by the Pruſſians, with two thouſand men, including fifty officers [c]. One of the Auſtrian magazines, which was deſtroyed by the Pruſſians, was at Budin, where the flames ſpread, and reduced

[c] Smollett's Hiſt. of England, from the Revolution, vol. V. p. 95, 96.

the

the town to aſhes; though prince Henry is ſaid to have done all in his power to extinguiſh the fire[d]. CHAP. XXVIII. A. D. 1758.

The Pruſſians having now filled Bohemia with alarm and conſternation, raiſed heavy contributions in the country, and made great deſtruction of the Auſtrian magazines[L], prince Henry returned to Saxony, and diſtributed his troops in quarters of refreſhment in the neighbourhood of Dreſden. But they were again put in motion in a few days, and marched to Obelgeburgen; from whence prince Henry continued his route through Voightland, in order to attack the army of the empire in Franconia. He accordingly entered this country by the way of Hoff, on the ſeventh of May, and next day ſent a detachment to attack general Macguire, who commanded a body of Imperialiſts at Aſch, and who ſuſtained the charge with great courage; but finding himſelf in danger of being overpowered by numbers, he retired in the night towards Egra. The army of the empire, commanded by the prince de Deuxponts, retreated, as the Pruſſians advanced, and abandoned the rich biſhoprics of Bamberg and Wurtzburg to contribution. The

[d] Entick, ut ſupra, p. 459.

[L] The Pruſſians are ſaid to have deſtroyed, in the Auſtrian magazines, in this expedition, 35,486 tons of meal; 37,400 loaves of bread, of 4lb. weight each; 136,820 Berlin meaſures of oats; and 86,300 rations of hay, of 8lb. weight each. Entick, ut ſupra, p. 459.

town

CHAP. XXVIII. A. D. 1758.

town of Bamberg ſurrendered upon terms; but ſome confuſion happening before the capitulation was completed, a party of Croats fired upon a party of Pruſſians, who had advanced towards one of the gates. This was reſented as an infringement of the capitulation, and was made a pretence for plundering the place. It was given up to pillage, by order of the Pruſſian commanders, for two days, in a very cruel and licentious manner; and the conduct of the Pruſſians, in this tranſaction was loudly and juſtly cenſured throughout Europe [L].

In the beginning of the month of June, the king of Pruſſia having received information, that the Ruſſians, notwithſtanding the deſtruction of their magazines, had begun their march from the Viſtula, ordered the ſeveral bodies of his troops, under the generals Hulſen and Woberſnow, to join the forces under count Dohna, and to march into Poland [M]. Ac-

[L] Annual Regiſter, vol. II. p. 10. Entick, ut ſupra, p. 460.

[M] One of the king of Pruſſia's biographers, ſpeaking of this march of the Pruſſian troops into Poland, ſays, 'It is aſtoniſhing to find in Europe in the middle of the eighteenth century, a ſtate, whoſe dominions are more extenſive than thoſe of France or of Germany, yet ſo deſtitute of forces, and of the means of defence, as to ſuffer its neighbours to enter the provinces of it at their pleaſure; and that a ſingle general, at the head of a few regiments, can ſupport himſelf in it as long as he thinks proper; or, at leaſt, till the general of ſome other power comes and drives him out.' Vie de Frederick II. Roy de Pruſſe, tom. II. p. 93.

cordingly

cordingly they advanced to Meritz, where the Pruſſian general publiſhed the following manifeſto: CHAP. XXVIII. A. D. 1758.

'His Pruſſian majeſty, finding himſelf under 'a neceſſity to cauſe part of his armies to enter 'the territories of the republic of Poland, in 'order to protect them againſt the threatened 'invaſion of the enemy, declares, that it muſt 'not be underſtood that his majeſty, by this 'ſtep taken, intends to make any breach in 'the regard, which he has always had for the 'illuſtrious republic of Poland, or to leſſen 'the good underſtanding which has hitherto 'ſubſiſted between them, but, on the contrary, to ſtrengthen the ſame, in expectation 'that the illuſtrious republic will, on its part, 'act with the like neighbourly and friendly 'good will as is granted to the enemy, than 'which nothing more is deſired.

'The nobility, gentry, and magiſtracy, in 'their reſpective diſtricts, between the frontiers 'of Pruſſia, ſo far as beyond Poſna, are required to furniſh all kinds of proviſions, corn, 'and forage, neceſſary to ſupport an army of 'forty thouſand men, with the utmoſt diſpatch, 'with an aſſurance of being paid ready money 'for the ſame. But if, contrary to expectation, 'any deficiency ſhould happen in ſupplying 'this demand, his majeſty's troops will be 'obliged to forage, and uſe the ſame means as 'thoſe taken by the enemy for their ſubſiſtence.

CHAP. XXVIII. A. D. 1758

'ence. In confidence, therefore, that the ſe-
'veral juriſdictions upon the Pruſſian frontiers,
'within the territories of Poland, will exert
'themſelves to comply with this demand as
'ſoon as poſſible, for the ſubſiſtence of the
'royal army of Pruſſia, they are aſſured, that
'thereby all diſorders will be prevented, and
'whatever is delivered will be paid for in ready
'money.'

Two days after, count Dohna publiſhed the following declaration: 'It was with the greateſt
'aſtoniſhment, that the king, my moſt gracious
'lord and maſter, heard that ſeveral of his own
'ſubjects had ſuffered themſelves to be ſeduced
'from their allegiance ſo far, as to enter into the
'ſervice of a potentate with whom he is at war.
'His majeſty, therefore, makes known by theſe
'preſents, that all of his ſubjects ſerving in the
'enemy's armies, who ſhall be taken with arms
'in their hands, ſhall, agreeably to all laws, be
'ſentenced to be hanged without mercy, as
'traitors to their king and country.'

A FEW days after, the Pruſſian general alſo publiſhed the following manifeſto: 'We invite
'and deſire, that the nobility, archbiſhops, bi-
'ſhops, abbeys, convents, ſeignories, magiſ-
'trates, and inhabitants of the republic of Po-
'land, on the road to Poſnania, and beyond it,
'would repair in perſon, or by deputies, in the
'courſe of this week, or as ſoon after as poſſible,
'to the Pruſſian head-quarters, there to treat
'with

'with the commander in chief, or the commiſ- CHAP. XXVIII.
'ſary at war, for the delivery of forage and A. D.
'proviſions for the ſubſiſtence of the army, to 1758.
'be paid for in ready money.

'We promiſe and aſſure ourſelves, that no 'perſon in Poland will attempt to ſeduce the 'Pruſſian troops to deſert; that no aſſiſtance 'will be given them in ſuch perfidious prac- 'tices; that they will neither be ſheltered, con- 'cealed, nor lodged; which would be followed 'by very diſagreeable conſequences. We ex- 'pect, on the contrary, that perſons of all ranks 'and conditions will ſtop any runaway or de- 'ſerter, and deliver him up at the firſt advanc- 'ed poſt, or at the head-quarters; and all ex- 'pences attending the ſame ſhall be paid, and a 'reaſonable gratification ſuperadded.

'If any one hath an inclination to enter into 'the king of Pruſſia's ſervice, with an intention 'to behave well and faithfully, he may apply to 'the head-quarters, and be aſſured of a capitu- 'lation for three or four years.

'If any prince, or member of the republic of 'Poland, be diſpoſed to aſſemble a body of men, 'and to join in a troop, or in a company, the 'Pruſſian army, to make a common cauſe with 'it, he may depend on a gracious reception, and 'that due regard will be ſhewn to his merit [f].

[f] Annual Regiſter, vol. II. p. 231, 232, 233.

FROM

CHAP. XXVIII. A. D. 1758.

FROM Meritz count Dohna continued his march towards Poſna, where he found the Ruſſian army, which was now under the command of count Soltikow, ſtrongly encamped, having in their rear that city, and the river Warta, and in their front a formidable entrenchment, mounted with a great number of cannon. In this ſituation, count Dohna judged it to be impracticable to attack them, with any proſpect of ſucceſs. He, therefore, contented himſelf with watching their motions, and endeavouring to intercept their convoys to the eaſtward; but, for want of proviſions, was, in a ſhort time, obliged to return himſelf towards the Oder. The Ruſſians then advanced towards Zulichau, in Sileſia. The king of Pruſſia now began to be diſſatisfied with the conduct of his general, count Dohna. He, therefore, ſuperſeded him, and conferred the command on Wedel, who was lately advanced to the rank of lieutenant-general. Count Dohna appears to have been a brave, and a ſkilful officer; but the king thought him ſomewhat too cautious; and, indeed, he ſeems not to have been quite ſo ready as his royal maſter, to ſacrifice the lives of his men, when there was little proſpect of obtaining any advantage.

General Wedel, who was now inveſted with the command, received poſitive orders from the king, at all events, to engage the Ruſſians. They had arrived at ZULICHAU, and intended to proceed from thence to Croſſen in Sileſia, in order to get before the Pruſſian army, and to make

make good the paſſage of the Oder. The Ruſſian army amounted to ſeventy thouſand men, and the Pruſſians did not exceed thirty thouſand. General Wedel, however, attacked the Ruſſians, with great vigour, at KAY, near ZULICHAU, on the twenty-third of July. But, after a very obſtinate engagement, the Pruſſians were repulſed with the loſs of near eight thouſand men, killed, wounded, and priſoners. The loſs of the Ruſſians was alſo very conſiderable. On the ſide of the Pruſſians, general Woberſnow, an officer of great merit, was killed, and general Manteuffel was wounded. CH XXV A. 17

AFTER the battle of Zulichau, the Ruſſians made themſelves maſters of the town of Croſſen. They afterwards penetrated far into the Pruſſian territories, and took poſſeſſion of Frankfort upon the Oder. The king of Pruſſia had been employed, for a conſiderable time, in watching the motions of mareſchal Daun; but he now reſolved to march himſelf in perſon to oppoſe the progreſs of the Ruſſians; and this he judged to be the more neceſſary, in order to prevent a junction between them and the Auſtrians. Accordingly he ſet out from his camp in Sileſia, with a ſelect body of ten thouſand men, in order to take upon him the command of general Wedel's army, leaving the reſt of his forces ſtrongly encamped, under the command of his brother prince Henry. Mareſchal Daun, being apprized of Frederick's intention, and knowing the Ruſſians to be very defective in cavalry, immediately detached a body of twelve thouſand horſe

CHAP. XVIII. A. D. 1758.

horſe to join them, under the command of general Laudohn; and theſe, penetrating through Sileſia and Luſatia, though not without ſome loſs, arrived in the Ruſſian camp at this very critical juncture [g].

THE king of Pruſſia joined general Wedel at Muhlroſe, where he aſſumed the command of the army; but finding it greatly inferior to that of the Ruſſians, he recalled general Finck, whom he had detached ſome time before, with a body of nine thouſand men, to oppoſe the progreſs of the Imperialiſts in Saxony. But, even with this reinforcement, the Pruſſian army did not quite amount to fifty thouſand men, while that of the Ruſſians, ſince the junction of general Laudohn, was not much leſs than ninety thouſand. They had choſen a ſtrong camp, at the village of KUNERSDORFF, almoſt oppoſite to Franckfort upon the Oder; and they had increaſed the natural ſtrength of their ſituation by entrenchments, planted with a numerous train of artillery. Notwithſtanding theſe accumulated diſadvantages, the king of Pruſſia determined to hazard an attack.

The Pruſſian army being formed in a wood, advanced towards the Ruſſians, on the twelfth of Auguſt; and, at eleven in the forenoon, the action was begun with a ſevere cannonade. This having produced the deſired effect, the king of Pruſſia charged the left wing of the Ruſſian

[g] Smollett, ut ſupra, p. 100. Annual Regiſter, vol. II. p. 24, 25.

army

army with his beſt troops formed in columns. After a very obſtinate conteſt, the Ruſſian intrenchments were forced with great ſlaughter, and ſeventy pieces of cannon fell into the hands of the Pruſſians. A narrow defile was afterwards paſſed, and ſeveral redoubts, that covered the village of KUNERSDORFF, were taken by aſſault. At that village, the Ruſſians made a firm ſtand; but they were overborne by the impetuoſity of the Pruſſians, who drove them from poſt to poſt, up to the laſt redoubts which they had to defend. The Ruſſians, however, kept their ground, till they were hewn down in their ranks; and this ſucceſs, therefore, was not obtained by the Pruſſians, but with infinite labour, and at a great expence of blood. CHAP. XXVIII. A D. 1758.

AFTER a furious engagement of ſix hours, fortune ſeemed to declare ſo much in favour of the Pruſſians, that the king diſpatched the following billet to the queen at Berlin: "Madam, we have driven the Ruſſians from their "intrenchments. In two hours expect to hear "of a glorious victory." But this intimation was premature. The Ruſſians, though ſtaggered, and broken, were not routed. Count Soltikow found, that his left wing, though ſhattered, was more entire than any other part of his army. He, therefore, aſſembled the remains of his right, and gathering as many as he could from the center, reinforced his left wing, and made a ſtand at a redoubt, which had been erected on an advantageous eminence, called

"the

CHAP. XXVIII. A. D. 1758.

"the jews burying-ground." Here the Ruſſians again ſtood in order of battle, with the moſt reſolute countenance, favoured by the ſituation, which was naturally difficult of acceſs, and rendered now almoſt impregnable by the fortification, and a numerous artillery. It is ſaid, that the Pruſſian generals were unanimouſly of opinion, that it would be imprudent at that time to puſh any farther the advantages which they had obtained. They repreſented to the king, that their adverſaries were ſtill very numerous, and their artillery conſiderable; that the poſt which they occupied was of great ſtrength; that his brave troops, who had been engaged for ſo long a time, in one of the ſevereſt actions ever known, and in one of the hotteſt days that was ever felt, were too much exhauſted for a new attempt, and an attempt of ſuch extreme difficulty; that the advantage he had already gained would be as deciſive in its conſequences as that of Zorndorff; and that the enemy would be obliged immediately to retire into Poland, and to leave him at liberty to act in other quarters, where his preſence was equally neceſſary [h].

THESE reaſons were forcible, and at firſt ſeemed to make ſome impreſſion upon the king; but, in a few moments, he reſolved to make another effort, and again put all to the hazard. His infantry, ſtill reſolute, and ani-

[h] Annual Regiſter, ut ſupra.

mated

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nated by their late ſucceſs, were led on to a new attack. But the enterprize was beyond their ſtrength. The ſituation of the Ruſſians was impregnable; and their battalions repulſed the Pruſſian battalions with great ſlaughter. The Pruſſian infantry, however, were brought to a ſecond attack, and were a ſecond time repulſed, and with ſtill greater loſs. The cavalry then ſucceeded to the attack, and repeated their unſucceſsful efforts, till they were almoſt broken, and entirely exhauſted.

At this critical juncture, the whole body of the Auſtrian and Ruſſian cavalry, under general Laudohn, which had hitherto remained inactive, and were therefore freſh, and in ſpirits, fell in among the Pruſſian horſe with great fury, broke their line at the firſt charge, and forcing them back upon the infantry, threw them into ſuch diſorder as could not be repaired. The Pruſſian army being thus involved in confuſion, was ſoon after totally defeated, notwithſtanding the perſonal efforts of the king, who hazarded his life in the hotteſt parts of the battle, led on his troops three times to the charge, had two horſes killed under him, and his clothes in ſeveral places penetrated with muſquet balls [N]. His army being routed, and general

[N] Dr. Smollett, ſpeaking of this battle, ſays, 'It muſt be 'owned, that if the king was prodigal of his own perſon, he 'was likewiſe very free with the lives of his ſubjects. At no 'time, ſince the days of ignorance and barbarity, were the lives 'of men ſquandered away with ſuch profuſion, as in the courſe of

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general Seidlitz, and moſt of his other generals, being diſabled by wounds, he was reluctantly compelled to abandon the field of battle [o]; and he then diſpatched another billet to the queen, containing theſe words: "Remove from Berlin with the royal family. Let "the archives be carried to Potſdam. The "town may make conditions with the enemy!"[l]

'of this German war. They were not only unneceſſarily ſacrificed in various exploits of no conſequence, but laviſhly expoſed to all the rigour and diſtemper of winter-campaigns, 'which were introduced on the continent, in deſpite of nature, 'and in contempt of humanity. Such are the improvements of 'warriors without feeling! ſuch the refinements of German 'diſcipline!' Hiſt. of England, ut ſupra, p. 103, 104.

Voltaire alſo, after giving ſome account of the battles which were fought in Germany at this period, ſays, 'What was the 'reſult of this innumerable multitude of battles, of which even 'the recital at this day is tedious to thoſe who there ſignalized 'themſelves? What remains after ſo many battles? Nothing, 'but blood ſpilt to no purpoſe in uncultivated and ruined coun-'tries, villages deſtroyed, and families reduced to beggary.' Age 'of Lewis XV. ch. 33.

[o] The king is ſaid to have been much aſſiſted in his retreat by general Finck, who had diſtinguiſhed himſelf in the action, in which he was wounded. Captain Tielke ſays, that 'General 'Finck diſplayed ſuch zeal, knowledge and capacity, in collect-'ing the troops, forming them again, repairing the diſorder, 'and covering the retreat of the army, that the king told him, 'he would be a ſecond Turenne.' Account of ſome of the moſt remarkable events of the War between the Pruſſians, Auſtrians, and Ruſſians, &c. tranſlated from the German, by the captains Charles and Robert Crawfurd, vol. I. p. 210.

[l] Annual Regiſter, and Smollet, ut ſupra.

THE

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THE night, and the prudent uſe of ſome eminences, which were defended as well as the circumſtances would admit, preſerved the Pruſſian army from total ruin. But their loſs, in the battle of KUNERSDORFF, was greater than in any other action from the commencement of the war. They loſt all their cannon; and the number of their killed, wounded, and priſoners, amounted to near twenty thouſand. General Putkammer was killed; and the lieutenant-generals Seidlitz, Finck, Wedel, Hulſen, and Itzenplitz, were among the wounded; as was alſo the prince of Wirtemberg, and five major-generals. Among the wounded officers of inferior rank, was major Kleiſt, who is eſteemed one of the beſt German poets. He had greatly diſtinguiſhed himſelf in the action, and died of his wounds a few days after. The loſs of the Ruſſians was alſo ſo great, that count Soltikow is reported to have ſaid, after the action, "If I ſhould gain ſuch another victory, "I may go alone, with my truncheon in my "hand, to carry the news to Peterſburgh[k]."

THE Pruſſian troops, early in the morning after the action, returned to the camp which they had occupied before, about two leagues from the field of battle. In a letter, ſaid to be written by a Pruſſian officer of diſtinction, who was preſent in the action, is the following paſſage: 'I ſaw the king, the morning after the

[k] Vie de Frederick II. Roi de Pruſſe, tom. II. p. 99.

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'battle, ſtretched upon a little ſtraw, repoſi
'among the ruins of a farmhouſe, which ha
'been deſtroyed by the Coſſacks. He ſlept, wit
'as much ſoundneſs and tranquillity, as if h
'had been in the ſecureſt place. His hat co
'vered half his face, and his ſword drawn la
'by his ſide. Two adjutants were at his feet
'ſleeping on the ground. A ſingle grenadie
'ſtood ſentinel. This monarch ſeems to have
'ſleep and repoſe in his own power, as well a
'preſence of mind. As ſoon as he is out of the
'reach of arms, the idea of his own ſuperio
'rity, and his confidence in his own good for
'tune, ſo take poſſeſſion of him, that he no
'longer ſees any danger; but delivers himſelf
'up to repoſe with as much ſecurity, as if the
'enemy were at twenty leagues diſtance[1].'

THE day after the battle of Kunerſdorff, about four in the afternoon, the king repaſſed the Oder, and encamped at Retwin. He was apprehenſive, that the Ruſſians would have immediately proceeded to Brandenburgh; but they were not very active in making the moſt of the victory that they had obtained; and he himſelf ſoon removed from Retwin to Fuſtenwalde, and ſtationed himſelf in ſuch a manner, that they did not venture to make any attempt upon Berlin. In a few days after his defeat, every thing was in order in his camp. He had

[1] Vie de Frederick II. Roi de Pruſſe, tom. II. p. 98, 9
Anecdotes and Characteriſtics of Frederick the Great, vol. I
p. 44, 45.

re-aſſemble

re-aſſembled and refreſhed his broken troops; he had furniſhed his camp with cannon from the arſenal at Berlin; and he recalled general Kleiſt, whom he had ſent with five thouſand men into Pomerania. He watched the motions of the Ruſſian army ſo aſſiduouſly, that count Soltikow, inſtead of entering Brandenburgh, marched into Luſatia. There he joined the grand Auſtrian army, under mareſchal Daun; and the two generals held conſultations together concerning their future operations[m].

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FREDERICK never appeared greater, than after any remarkable adverſe ſtroke of fortune. In ſuch caſes, he generally excited the aſtoniſhment of mankind, by the celerity with which he recovered his loſſes, by the wonderful reſources of his genius, and the unconquerable fortitude of his ſpirit. After the battle of Kunerſdorff, when his friends, as well as his enemies, were of opinion, that the Ruſſian and Auſtrian armies united had only to determine what part of his dominions they choſe firſt to ſubdue, as a prelude to the conqueſt of the whole, he obliged both to act on the defenſive; and, at the ſame time, detached a body of ſix thouſand men, under general Wunſch, in order to oppoſe the progreſs of the Imperialiſts in Saxony[n].

[m] Hiſt. of Modern Europe, vol. V. p. 344.

[n] Id. p. 345.

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DURING the time that the king had been ployed againſt the Ruſſians, the army of empire had entered into Saxony, and n themſelves maſters of Halle, Wittemb Leipſic, and Torgau; and ſoon after Dre alſo ſurrendered to the Imperialiſts. But detachment under general Wunſch retook L ſic on the twenty-firſt of September; and ing joined general Finck, who was ſent another body of troops into Saxony, t Pruſſian generals repulſed the army of the pire at Corbitz, though ſupported by a b of Auſtrians under general Haddick, and covered every place in that electorate ex Dreſden *. Prince Henry of Pruſſia now c ted a camp which he had occupied, at Ho dorff, near Gorlitz, in Luſatia, and marc with extraordinary celerity into Saxony, wh he joined the generals Finck and Wur This rapid march obliged count Daun alſ quit his camp in Luſatia, and to ſeparate army from that of count Soltikow, in orde protect Dreſden. After the Auſtrian and ſian armies were thus ſeparated, the king fo that it was the intention of the Ruſſians to ſiege Great Glogau; but he took poſt betw them and that city in ſuch a manner, as to to fruſtrate their deſign; and they ſoon afte tired into Poland. They appear to have b much diſtreſſed for want of proviſions, they received an offer of money from the c

* Hiſt. of Modern Europe, vol. V. p. 344.

Vienna; but to this offer count Soltikow plied, "My ſoldiers do not eat money [r]." CHAP. XXVIII. A. D. 1759.

By the retreat of the Ruſſians into Poland, the king of Pruſſia finding himſelf diſengaged om a very formidable enemy, marched imdiately into Saxony, and there joined his other prince Henry, near Torgau, on the ond of November, in ſpite of all the efforts the Auſtrian generals. On this junction the my of the empire retired, and mareſchal un retreated towards Dreſden, as well to ver that city, as to keep open his communiion with Bohemia. The whole Auſtrian caalry was poſted in the plain between Plauen d Dreſden; the right wing extending to the burb of that city, and the left wing to the llage. As this advantageous poſition made attack upon the Auſtrian army almoſt imacticable, the king endeavoured to oblige areſchal Daun to quit it, and to retire toards Bohemia, by rendering his communicaon with that country very difficult and cutig off his means of ſubſiſtence. To this end ent colonel Kleiſt with a body of light troops to Bohemia, who deſtroyed many magazines, d levied conſiderable contributions [s].

Shortly after, Frederick detached lieutenant-general Finck, with nineteen battalions, nd thirty-five ſquadrons, to take poſſeſſion of

[r] Vie de Frederick II. Roi de Pruſſe, tom. II. p. 102.
[s] Tielke's Account of ſome of the moſt remarkable events of e War between the Pruſſians, &c. ut ſupra, p. 4, 5.

the

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the defiles of Maxen and Ottendorf, with a view to hinder the retreat of the Auſtrians into Bohemia. But the Pruſſian general had no ſooner taken poſt upon the heights near the village of MAXEN, than Mareſchal Daun ſent officers to reconnoitre his ſituation, and immediately reſolved to attack him with the corps de reſerve under the baron de Sincere, which was encamped in the neighbourhood of Dippoldiſwalda. It was forthwith divided into four columns, which filed off through the neighbouring woods; and the Pruſſians had no apprehenſion of the approach of the Auſtrians, till they ſaw themſelves almoſt entirely ſurrounded. In this emergency, they defended themſelves with their cannon and muſquetry till they were overpowered by numbers, and their batteries were taken. Then they retired to another riſing ground, where they rallied, but were driven from eminence to eminence, until, by favour of the night, they made their laſt retreat to Falkenhayn. In the mean time, count Daun had made ſuch diſpoſitions, that at day-break general Finck found himſelf ſo completely encloſed, that he conceived no poſſibility of eſcape remained for him. He endeavoured, though ineffectually, to obtain terms; and at length general Finck himſelf, eight major-generals, and all his troops, amounting to near fifteen thouſand men, were made priſoners of war. Upwards of ſixty pieces of cannon, forty-four ammunition waggons, twenty-four ſtandards,

ds, and ninety-ſix pair of colours, alſo fell to the hands of the Auſtrians on this occaon. CHAP. XXVIII. A. D. 1759.

GENERAL Finck was eſteemed a brave and a ilful officer; but in this tranſaction he ſeems have been deficient either in judgment or in gilance [P]. General Hulſen had been detached,

P] Some writers have ſuppoſed, that the king of Pruſſia ſelf was chiefly to blame in this buſineſs; by detaching ſo erous a body of troops to a ſituation, where they could not ſuſtained by the reſt of his army. But, on this ſubject, the tains C. and R. Crawfurd have made the following remarks, heir notes on Tielke's "Account of ſome of the moſt remarkable events of the War between the Pruſſians," &c. p. 14. 'Although many people may with juſtice deem it a ult in the king, that he did not immediately poſt a conſiderable rps at Dippoldiſwalda, excluſive of general Finck's corps, t every perſon, who is acquainted with the country, and has y knowledge of the military art, muſt behold with admiraon the boldneſs and juſtneſs of the king's manœuvre, in taching general Finck to Maxen: a manœuvre, which deves as much to be admired as any of the other great actis of this conſummate general; and which, had it been as well ecuted as conceived, would have been attended with the oſt important and brilliant ſucceſs. For had general Finck aintained his poſt till general Hulſen arrived, (which he ould have done by occupying the ground properly) mareſhal Daun would then have been unable to drive the Pruſſis from the neighbourhood of Maxen; and, as by this poſiion they would have entirely cut off his communication with ohemia on that ſide, and have rendered the famous camp f Plauen almoſt, if not abſolutely untenable, he would have een obliged to make a precipitate retreat over the Elbe by reſden, and probably to have retired to Bohemia by that ute, with the greateſt part of his army. That the event of 'this

A P. VIII. D. 1759. tached, with nine battalions, and thirty ſquadrons, to his aſſiſtance; but he arrived at Klingenberg, too late to be of any ſervice; and, being recalled, was ſent the next day to occupy the important poſt of Freyberg. General Finck was afterwards tried by a court-martial, who ſentenced him to two years impriſonment. After he was releaſed from his confinement, he went as a general of infantry into the Daniſh ſervice, and was in that ſituation when he died.

THE affair of MAXEN was not the only diſaſter which befel the king of Pruſſia at the cloſe of this campaign. General Diercke, who was poſted with ſeven battalions of infantry, and a thouſand horſe, on the right bank of the Elbe, oppoſite to Meiſſen, finding it impracticable to lay a bridge of pontoons acroſs the river, on account of the floating ice, was obliged to tranſport his troops in boats; and when all were paſſed, except himſelf, with the rear-guard, conſiſting of three battalions, he was attacked, on the morning of the third of December, by a ſtrong body of Auſtrians, and taken, with all his men, after an obſtinate conteſt[r]. By theſe ſucceſſive misfortunes, the force

* this expedition is to be attributed to the faults committed on * the part of the Pruſſians, is moſt certain; but the deciſive * fault was in the execution, not in the deſign. The chief per- * ſon to be blamed, as we think, was general Finck, not the * king.'

[r] Smollett, ut ſupra, p. 108.

of

CHAP. XXVIII. A. D. 1759.

of the king of Pruſſia was greatly weakened; but he received a very ſeaſonable reinforcement of twelve thouſand troops, under the command of the hereditary prince of Brunſwick. They had been detached to his relief by prince Ferdinand; and that they might join him as ſoon as poſſible, they had marched near three hundred miles in fifteen days [r]. They joined the king at Freyberg; and, notwithſtanding his late loſſes, mareſchal Daun ſtill thought him ſo formidable, that he made no new attempt againſt him but contented himſelf with quietly occupying the ſtrong camp at Pirna, where he might be at hand to ſuccour Dreſden, in caſe it ſhould be attacked, and alſo maintain his communication with Bohemia; and Frederick ſoon after put his forces into winter quarters [Q] at Freyberg. But before that

[r] Annual Regiſter, vol. II. p. 50.

[Q] The extreme ſeverity of the weather rendered it indiſpenſably neceſſary, that the troops of the king of Pruſſia, as well as of his enemies, ſhould go into winter quarters. 'A 'winter remarkably ſevere ſucceeded the bloody campaign of '1759. At Bareith, in the night of the 16th of December, 'the cold was inſupportable. Reaumur's thermometer was 'ſunk to 15, which is preciſely the ſame degree it fell to in '1709, a year like this diſtinguiſhed by the intenſeneſs of the 'cold, and the fury of war. Birds dropped dead in their 'flight. At Leipſic ten ſentinels were frozen to death. An 'infectious diſeaſe, which began in the armies, diffuſed itſelf 'among the inhabitants of SAXONY, and made a dreadful 'havock. A peſtilential contagion raged among the cattle. 'Famine was ſoon added to the reſt of their calamities; and 'every

that event had taken place, a body of his troops, under the command of general Manteuffel, had obtained ſome conſiderable advantages againſt the Swedes in Pomerania.

At the beginning of the preſent year, the French, by a breach of faith, had made themſelves maſters of Franckfort upon the Maine, a free and neutral city. This was an important acquiſition, as it ſecured to them the courſe of the Maine, and the Upper Rhine, by which they received every ſpecies of ſupply from Mentz, Spire, Worms, and even the country of Alſace; and it alſo maintained their communication with the chain formed by the Auſtrian forces, and the army of the empire. Prince Ferdinand of Brunſwick conſidered it as of much conſequence to diſlodge them from this poſt; and, therefore, determined to attempt it, as ſoon as the ſeaſon would permit his troops to take the field. The Hanoverian army which he commanded, had been augmented by German recruits, and ſtrengthened by freſh reinforcements from England. He aſſembled his troops in the neighbourhood of Fulda in the month of April, 1759, and began his march towards Franckfort at the head of thirty thouſand men, having left the reſt of his forces to guard the electorate of Hanover, and

'every miſery that can afflict mankind, was poured out upon 'that unfortunate people, with the moſt liberal meaſure.' Annual Regiſter, vol. III. p. 9, 10.

[1] Hiſt. of Modern Europe, vol. V. p. 335.

protect

protect the biſhopric of Munſter. He found the French army under the duke de Broglio, ſtrongly poſted near the village of Bergen, between Franckfort and Hanau. As he had reſolved to attack it, he immediately drew up his forces in order of battle, and advanced to the charge. But, after three deſperate efforts to get poſſeſſion of the village, he was obliged to retire with the loſs of two thouſand men. Prince Ferdinand being thus defeated, the French ſtill kept poſſeſſion of Franckfort, and all the advantages which they derived from that ſituation. They received conſiderable reinforcements, and acquired in a ſhort ſpace ſuch a ſuperiority, as obliged prince Ferdinand to content himſelf with acting on the defenſive, for a long time after. As the French advanced, he found it neceſſary to retire; though he left ſtrong garriſons in Lipſtadt, Retberg, Munſter, and Minden, in order to retard the progreſs of the French generals. But Retberg was ſoon after ſurprized by the duke de Broglio; that general alſo took Minden by aſſault; and Munſter, though defended by a garriſon of four thouſand men, was reduced, after a ſhort ſiege. It now appeared ſcarcely poſſible, to prevent the French from making themſelves a ſecond time maſters of his Britannick majeſty's German dominions. But, with the hope of preventing this, prince Ferdinand reſolved to hazard another action, and accordingly engaged the French army at the

CHAP. XXVIII. A. D. 1759.

* Hiſt. of Modern Europe, vol. V. p. 336.

battle

A P. battle of Minden, with a much inferior force,
III. and gained a complete victory, on the firſt of
D. Auguſt. He afterwards gained poſſeſſion of
59. Minden, Caſſel, and Munſter; and forced the
French to evacuate great part of Weſtphalia.

On the ninth of November, 1759, the fourth treaty between Great Britain and Pruſſia was ſigned at London; by which it was agreed, that a third ſum of 670,000l. ſterling ſhould be paid to his Pruſſian majeſty, immediately after the exchange of the ratifications; and it was again ſtipulated between the two kings, 'not to conclude any treaty of peace, truce, or neutrality, or any other convention, or agreement whatſoever, with the powers who had taken part in the preſent war, but in concert, and by mutual conſent, and expreſsly comprehending each other therein [w].' At theſe expenſive Pruſſian treaties, many of the inhabitants of England now began to murmur; and, indeed, the real intereſts of Great Britain were, at the preſent period, much ſacrificed to the king's perſonal predilection for his electorate of Hanover. The public money of the kingdom was ſquandered [R], with great profuſion, in

[w] Gent. Mag. vol. XXIX. p. 609, 610.

[R] The king of Pruſſia himſelf was of opinion, that a part at leaſt of the public money of England, which had been ſpent in Germany, was ſquandered away unneceſſarily and improperly. In the preface to his *Hiſtoire de mon Temps*, as publiſhed by count Hertzberg, is the following paſſage: 'On the one ſide I 'ſee the king of Spain, ſovereign of the mines of Potoſi, overwhelmed

in ſubſidies to foreign princes [s], and in ſupport of

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'whelmed with debt in Europe; and on the other, the king of 'England, profuſely ſcattering with both hands thoſe guineas, 'which thirty years induſtry had accumulated in Great Britain, 'to ſupport the queen of Hungary and the Pragmatic ſanction.' Mémoire Hiſtorique ſur la dernière année, &c. p. 44.

[s] Among other German princes, to whom large ſums of the public money of England were voted, one was the Landgrave of Heſſe-Caſſel. This prince, who, in time of war, was incapable of defending his own dominions, which were repeatedly taken poſſeſſion of by the French, lent his troops to Great Britain for a ſubſidy of more than three hundred thouſand pounds per annum. He was not, however, always very firm in his alliance with Great Britain. Mr. Entick ſays, that 'the 'landgrave of Heſſe-Caſſel was a ſubſidiary ally, retained by a 'large penſion in time of peace, when his friendſhip could not 'avail; and whoſe enmity could never hurt Great Britain, but 'in ſuch conjunctures, when foreign or domeſtic quarrels or 'commotions ſhould require an auxiliary aid. But expecting, 'from appearances, (in 1758,) that the cauſe of Hanover was 'in a loſing condition, this mercenary ally, though a principal 'in the diſpute, and connected with Great Britain by the ties of 'ſolemn treaties, and of gratitude and honour, ſued to be en-'liſted into the ſervice of our common enemy.' Hiſt. of the War, vol. III. p. 120, 121.

In the year 1756, when apprehenſions were formed of a deſign in the French to invade Great Britain, a body of Heſſian troops were brought over into England; a meaſure which juſtly excited great diſcontent in a conſiderable part of the nation; and this diſcontent was increaſed by its being determined, that in caſe of any acts of violence being committed in the kingdom by theſe foreign mercenaries, they were not amenable to the laws of England. No apprehenſions of an invaſion could reconcile the nation to theſe foreign defenders. Indeed, the native force of Great Britain, its militia, and more eſpecially its navy, is fully equal to its own defence. Hiring foreign troops, therefore, for the defence of the nation, under whatever pretence, is a meaſure

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of the German war; from which no adequate advantage [T] to Great Britain, or even to the electorate of Hanover, was procured, or could rationally have been expected.

ON the fifth of December, 1759, duke Lewis of Brunſwick delivered to the miniſters of the ſeveral belligerent powers, reſiding at the Hague, the following declaration, in the names of the kings of Great Britain and Pruſſia:

a meaſure always diſhonourable and dangerous; and ſhould at all times, by the inhabitants of Great Britain, be firmly and zealouſly oppoſed.

[T] Dr. Smollett remarks, that 'the partizans of the miniſtry were at great pains to ſuggeſt and inculcate a belief, 'that the war in Germany was chiefly ſupported as a neceſſary 'DIVERSION in favour of Great Britain and her plantations, 'which would have been expoſed to inſult and invaſion, had 'not the enemy's forces been otherwiſe employed. But the 'abſurdity of this notion will at once appear to thoſe who conſider, that by this time Great Britain was ſole miſtreſs of the 'ſea; that the navy of France was almoſt ruined, and her commerce on the ocean quite extinguiſhed; that ſhe could not, 'with the leaſt proſpect of ſucceſs, hazard any expedition of 'conſequence againſt Great Britain, or any part of her dominions, while the ocean was covered with ſuch powerful navies 'belonging to that nation; and that if one third part of the 'money annually ingulphed in the German vortex, had been 'employed in augmenting the naval forces of England, and 'thoſe forces properly exerted, not a ſingle cruizer would have 'been able to ſtir from the harbours of France; all her colonies in the Weſt Indies would have fallen an eaſy prey to the 'arms of Great Britain, and thus cut off from the reſources of 'commerce, ſhe muſt have been content to embrace ſuch terms 'of peace, as the victor ſhould have thought proper to preſcribe.' Hiſt. of England, ut ſupra, vol. IV. p. 214, 215.

'Their

'Their Britannick and Pruſſian majeſties, CHA
'moved with compaſſion at the miſchiefs which XXVII
'the war, that has been kindled for ſome years, A. D.
'has already occaſioned, and muſt neceſſarily 1759.
'produce, would think themſelves wanting to
'the duties of humanity, and particularly to
'their tender concern for the preſervation and
'well-being of their reſpective kingdoms and
'ſubjects, if they neglected the proper means to
'put a ſtop to the progreſs of ſo ſevere a calami-
'ty, and to contribute to the re-eſtabliſhment of
'public tranquillity. In this view, and in or-
'der to manifeſt the purity of their intentions
'in this reſpect, their ſaid majeſties have deter-
'mined to make the following declaration, viz.

'That they are ready to ſend plenipotenti-
'aries to the place, which ſhall be thought
'moſt proper, in order there to treat, conjointly,
'of a ſolid and general peace, with thoſe whom
'the belligerent parties ſhall think fit to autho-
'rize, on their parts, for the attaining ſo ſalu-
'tary an end *.

In the courſe of this year, the king of Pruſſia was accuſed of barbarity, in iſſuing an order for removing all his priſoners from Berlin to Spandau. But this meaſure he endeavoured to juſtify, in a letter to his miniſters at foreign courts, in which he declared, that he had provided for all the officers, who were his priſoners of war, as well Swedes, as French and Auſtrians,

* Annual Regiſter, vol. II. p. 267.

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ans, and lately for the Ruſſians, the beſt accommodations, and every conveniency; having, for that end, permitted them to paſs the time of their captivity in his capital. But as ſome of them, he ſaid, "had groſsly abuſed the liberty allowed them, by keeping up illicit correſpondencies, and by other practices, with which he could not avoid being offended," he had been obliged to remove them all to the town of Spandau. He deſired, however, that the town might not be confounded with the fortreſs of that name, from which it was entirely ſeparated; as in the town they would enjoy the ſame eaſe as at Berlin, but would be "more narrowly watched." His conduct, on this occaſion, he ſaid, was ſufficiently authorized, not only by the law of nations, but alſo by the example of his enemies; inaſmuch as the empreſs-queen had never ſuffered any of his officers, who had fallen into her hands, to reſide at Vienna; and the court of Ruſſia had ſent ſome of them as far as Kaſan [y].

[y] Annual Regiſter, vol. II. p. 250.

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Frederick encamps his army between the Elbe and the Multa.—His letter to king Staniſlaus.—Declarations relative to peace made by the courts of Vienna, Peterſburgh, and Verſailles.—General Fouquet, with a large body of Pruſſians, defeated and taken by general Laudohn, at Landſhut.—Bombardment of Dreſden by the king of Pruſſia.—Memorial publiſhed on that occaſion by the king of Poland.—Bombardment of Breſlaw by general Laudohn.

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THE events of the year 1759 had been more adverſe to the king of Pruſſia, than any other from the commencement of the war. He had been greatly weakened by the defeat of his troops at Zulichau, by his own defeat at Kunerſdorff, by the affair of Maxen, and by other diſaſters. But notwithſtanding theſe misfortunes, his enemies ſtill found him extremely formidable: he had put his troops into winter-quarters in Saxony, and though the Auſtrians were maſters of Dreſden, he yet kept poſſeſſion of almoſt every other part of that electorate. In the month of January, 1760, the Pruſſian and Auſtrian armies were cantoned ſo near each other, that daily ſkirmiſhes were fought with various ſucceſs. But early in the campaign, he withdrew his out-poſts from Freyberg, and drawing a chain of cantonments from the foreſt of Tharandt on his right to the

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Elbe, he took a moſt advantageous camp between that river and the Multa. This camp he fortified in every place that was acceſſible, and mounted the works with two hundred and fifty pieces of cannon. By theſe means, he was enabled to maintain his ground againſt the grand Auſtrian army under mareſchal Daun, whoſe whole attention he engaged, and at the ſame time to ſend a ſtrong reinforcement to his brother Henry, without expoſing himſelf to any danger. Prince Henry had aſſembled an army near Franckfort on the Oder, where he took various poſitions, in order to oppoſe the Ruſſians, and to protect Sileſia and the New Marche of Brandenburgh, which were threatened by different bodies of the enemy. General Fouquet had eſtabliſhed his head-quarters in the neighbourhood of Glatz; and whilſt he covered Sileſia on that ſide, he kept up a communication with prince Henry, and was ſo poſted as to be able to ſend to, or to receive ſuccours from him, as either party ſhould happen to be preſſed [a].

In conſequence of the advances towards a peace, which were made by the kings of Great Britain and Pruſſia, in their declaration delivered to the foreign miniſters at the Hague, which I have given in the preceding chapter, the king of Spain offered his beſt offices in qua-

[a] Hiſt. of Modern Europe, vol. V. p. 380, 381. Annual Regiſter, vol. III. p. 13.

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y of mediator; and when a congreſs was opoſed, the States-general made an offer of eda, as a place proper for the negociation. ng Staniſlaus [v] alſo wrote letters to their itannick and Pruſſian majeſties, offering the y of Nancy for the ſame purpoſe; and from e king of Pruſſia he received the following ſwer:

'Sir, and brother,

'I received your majeſty's letter with a very ſincere pleaſure, and I ſhould certainly not have refuſed the offer which you make of the city of Nancy, if it had depended on me. Any negociations that ſhould be carried on under your auſpices, could not fail to take a favourable and a happy turn. But your majeſty, perhaps, is already apprized, that the ſentiments of every body are not ſo pacific.

'The courts of Vienna and Ruſſia have refuſed, in an unprecedented manner, to enter into the meaſures propoſed by the king of Great Britain; and it is probable, that they will draw in the king of France to continue the war, from which they promiſe to themſelves all the advantages. They alone, therefore, will be the ſole cauſe of that effuſion of human blood, which their refuſal will occaſi-

[v] STANISLAUS, who had been king of Poland, was afwards obliged to abdicate the throne; but the duchies of Lorie and Bar were conferred upon him, and he ſtill continued to oy the title of king. The city of NANCY is the capital o raine.

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'on. I ſhall not, however, be the leſs grate-
'ful for the obliging offers that have been
'made by your majeſty. If all ſovereigns were
'as pacific, equitable, and juſt, as you are,
'the earth would not be expoſed, as it is,
'to devaſtation, to ravages, to ſword, and
'fire.

'I am, with ſentiments of the greateſt eſ-
'teem and of the moſt ſincere friendſhip,

'Sir, my brother,

Freyberg, 'Your majeſty's faithful brother,

Feb. 8, 1760. 'FREDERICK.'

IN anſwer to the declarations in favour of peace, from the kings of Great Britain and Pruſſia, delivered to the foreign miniſters at the Hague, memorials were alſo delivered from the courts of Vienna, Peterſburgh, and Verſailles, in which they declared, that they were "equally animated by the deſire of contributing "to the re-eſtabliſhment of the public tranquil-"lity, on a ſolid and equitable footing;" and "that his Catholic majeſty having been plea-"ſed to offer his mediation in the war, which "had ſubſiſted for ſome years between France "and England, and that war having nothing "in common with that which the two empreſſ-"es, with their allies, had carried on for ſome "years againſt the king of Pruſſia, his moſt "Chriſtian majeſty was ready to treat of his "particular peace with England, through the "good offices of his Catholic majeſty, whoſe "mediation he had a pleaſure in accepting." It was farther added, that "as to the war which

"directly

" directly regarded his Pruſſian majeſty, the " empreſs-queen of Hungary and Bohemia, the " empreſs of all the Ruſſias, and the moſt Chriſ- " tian king, were diſpoſed to agree to the ap- " pointment of the congreſs propoſed. But as, " by virtue of their treaties, they could not " enter into any engagement relating to peace, " but in conjunction with their allies, it would " be neceſſary, in order that they might be " enabled to explain themſelves definitively " upon that ſubject, that their Britannick and " Pruſſian majeſties ſhould previouſly be pleaſed " to cauſe their invitation to a congreſs to be " made to all the powers, that were directly " engaged in war againſt the king of Pruſſia; " and particularly to his majeſty the king of " Poland, elector of Saxony [u], and likewiſe " to his majeſty the king of Sweden, who " ought ſpecifically to be invited to the futuro " congreſs [b]."

THE propoſal of appointing the king of Spain to be mediator between France and Great Bri-

[u] Voltaire, ſpeaking of the overtures relative to peace which were made at this time, ſays of the king of Pruſſia, 'He 'will cede nothing; and propoſes, in order to indemnify the 'elector of Saxony, that they ſhall give him Erfurth, which 'belongs to the elector of Mentz. He muſt always rob ſome- 'body: it is his way.' Memoires, p. 206, 207. Voltaire correſponded with Frederick concerning the propoſed terms of peace; and complains, that the king ſent his confidential letters to London, and endeavoured to ſow diſſenſion between the court of France and their allies.

[b] Annual Regiſter, vol. III. p. 203, 204.

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tain, was not likely to be well received by the Engliſh miniſtry, as his Catholic majeſty could hardly be expected to be a very impartial mediator. As to the war between Great Britain and France, it had been attended with very diſtinguiſhed ſucceſs on the part of the former. Mr. PITT, who then preſided in the councils of England, though his conduct was cenſurable reſpecting the German war, yet had otherwiſe manifeſted the utmoſt integrity, and diſplayed all the talents of a truly great and illuſtrious miniſter. Under his direction, and animated by his ſpirit, his influence, and his energetic and commanding eloquence, the arms of Great Britain had been triumphant in every quarter of the world. The Britiſh conqueſts had been ſo numerous, and the national ſucceſs ſo great, that the adminiſtration of PITT will ever form one of the moſt ſplendid periods of the Britiſh annals [x].

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[x] To the ſplendour of Mr. PITT's adminiſtration even foreign writers have borne teſtimony. Count ALGAROTTI ſays, 'It is to PITT that England is indebted for that fine 'illumination, which was exhibited laſt year in a certain houſe 'in London, in which every quarter of the globe had its parti-'cular window decorated with an inſcription. The taking o 'Goree and Senegal for AFRICA; that of Surat for ASIA; th 'victories at Minden, Cadiz, and Quiberon, for EUROPE 'the conqueſt of Cape Breton, of Quebec, &c. &c. &c. fo 'AMERICA: an illumination that the Romans never coul 'have made, for want of a window.'—'PITT ſketches all th 'outlines of the different operations, though he does not, per-'haps, finiſh the picture. He chuſes, however, perſons whon

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THE pacific declarations of the ſeveral belli- CHAP. XXIX. A. D. 1760.
rent powers did not produce any real effect,

or

ie knows to be equal to the taſk. He gives ſcope to the abili-ies of an ANSON, a HAWKE, a BOSCAWEN, a SAUN-ERS, a GRANBY, a WOLFE, a MURRAY, and an AM-HERST; and does not ſuffer them to remain inactive or un-mployed,'—'As inacceſſible to bribes as a Fabricius or a Cu-ius, ſober, indefatigable, firm in his deſigns, vigorous in execut-ing them, nervous in his language, attentive to no other object but the glory of his nation, which he conſiders as his own, he has arrived by honourable means to that degree of greatneſs, which is ſeldom attained without mean intrigues, and artifices at court. He is not much given to fineſſe in his political negociations: with a heart full of zeal for the public good, and a mind firmly directed towards it, he attends only to eſſentials, and follows the conciſe and concluſive method of the Romans. When called to the helm of ſtate, he found the treaty with Pruſſia already formed. His firſt public act was to ſend back the Heſſians and Hanoverians, and to raiſe in their room a national militia, for the defence of the king-dom.'—'Notwithſtanding that PITT ſent troops to the elec-torate of Hanover, Engliſh armaments appeared every day upon the coaſts of France. One would imagine, that under him the number of people was multiplied. He inſpired into all the noble thirſt of conqueſt and of glory. That rooted animoſity, which has always ſubſiſted between the ſailors and the ſoldiers, between the commanders by ſea and thoſe by land, he found means to convert into a laudable emulation, which ſhould moſt effectually ſerve their country.' Letters itary and political, p. 120—131.

Monſ. LAUREAU, ſpeaking of the period of Mr. PITT's miniſtration, ſays, 'Since the fall of Tyre and Carthage, he world has never ſeen a ſpectacle equal to that exhibited by NGLAND towards the middle of this century. The ſeas were covered with her veſſels; her victorious flag was hoiſted

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or prevent the continuance of hoſtilities. General Laudohn, with a ſtrong, but light and diſencumbered army, moved from a camp which he had occupied during the winter in Bohemia, and preſenting himſelf alternately on the ſide of Luſatia, and on the frontiers of Sileſia, threatened ſometimes to penetrate to Berlin, ſometimes by a bold ſtroke to effect a junction with the Ruſſians, and attack prince Henry, and ſometimes to ſit down before Glatz, Schweidnitz, or Breſlaw [c]. By theſe manœuvres he kept the Pruſſians in continual alarm, as they knew not on which ſide the ſtorm would fall. Having by ſeveral feints led general Fouquet to believe, that his intentions were againſt Schweidnitz, that general marched thither a conſiderable body of Pruſſian troops, and left Glatz uncovered. When Laudohn perceived, that this ſtratagem had ſucceeded, he immediately made uſe of another, and with equal ſucceſs. He took poſſeſſion of Landſhut, which he diſcovered a deſign of ſecuring, and left there a ſmall body of troops. Fouquet, alarmed at ſo unexpected a movement, quitted Schweidnitz with pre-

' in every harbour of the univerſe. Commerce, ſubſervient to ' her laws, regularly paid, in her iſle, the tribute of all nations. ' Her intrepid ſailors, uniting fame with intereſt, with one hand ' poured forth the horn of plenty, and with the other raiſed her ' ſail, which covered the remainder of the globe.' Eloge de Frederick II. p. 18.

[c] Annual Regiſter, vol. III. p. 13. Hiſt. of Modern Europe, ut ſupra, p. 381.

cipitation,

cipitation, and drove the Auſtrians from Landſhut without difficulty; but, in the mean time, Laudohn had made himſelf maſter of ſeveral important paſſes, by which he was in ſome degree enabled to ſurround the corps of general Fouquet. The Pruſſian commander did every thing poſſible in ſuch circumſtances, to defend himſelf againſt a ſuperior enemy. But all his efforts were ineffectual. The Auſtrians attacked his entrenchments, near LANDSHUT, with great fury, on the twenty-third of June. The Pruſſians defended themſelves very gallantly, and a conſiderable ſlaughter was made of the Auſtrians; but general Fouquet having received two wounds, and four thouſand of his troops being ſlain, the remainder of his army, amounting to ſeven thouſand, ſurrendered themſelves priſoners of war[d]. Fifty-eight pieces of artillery, and many military trophies, alſo fell into the hands of the Auſtrians; and general Laudohn ſoon after made himſelf maſter of Glatz, where there were more than one hundred braſs cannon, a great number of mortars, and a vaſt quantity of ammunition. CHAP. XXIX. A. D. 1760.

ON the ſecond of July, the king himſelf having made the neceſſary diſpoſitions for proceeding towards Sileſia, quitted his ſtrong camp on the frontiers of Saxony, and began his march in two columns through Luſatia. Count Daun no ſooner had advice of his

[d] Hiſt. of Modern Europe, and Annual Regiſter, ut ſupra.

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march, than he alſo immediately moved, with the utmoſt expedition, at the head of his main army, towards Sileſia; leaving the army of the empire, and a body of troops under general Laſcy, to guard Saxony in his abſence. The two armies continued their route through Luſatia; that of the king a little to the northward, and that of mareſchal Daun to the ſouthward; both apparently puſhing towards the ſame object. But when the king was apprized, that count Daun had gained full two days march upon him; that he had actually arrived at Gorlitz, and was puſhing by forced marches to Lauban; he immediately wheeled into the oppoſite direction, repaſſed the Spree near Bautzen, and whilſt he was ſuppoſed to be on the frontiers of Sileſia, ſuddenly and unexpectedly appeared before Dreſden, on the thirteenth of the month. The army of the empire retired, and the corps under the command of count Laſcy changed its ſituation.

THE unfortunate capital of Saxony, which had before ſuffered much calamity from the king of Pruſſia, was now again expoſed to the miſeries of a ſiege. The Auſtrian governor, general Macguire, being ſummoned to ſurrender, anſwered, that having the honour to be entruſted with the defence of the capital, he would maintain it to the laſt extremity. Batteries were immediately raiſed againſt the town on both ſides of the Elbe; and the ſuburbs towards the Pirna gate were attacked and carried.

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In the mean time, count Daun having received information of Frederick's return to Saxony, and of the ſiege of Dreſden, immediately marched back, and that with ſuch rapidity, that on the nineteenth of the month he reached the neighbourhood of Dreſden. In conſequence of his approach, the Pruſſian monarch, whoſe heavy artillery was now arrived, redoubled his efforts againſt the city, ſo as to reduce to aſhes ſeveral of the churches [v]; the new ſquare, ſeveral noble ſtreets, and ſome palaces, together with the curious manufactory of porcelaine. The ſiege continued till the twenty-ſecond of the month, but mareſchal Daun having thrown ſixteen battalions into the city on the preceding night, Frederick abandoned his undertaking, withdrew his troops and artillery, and endeavoured, but without ſucceſs, to bring the Auſtrian general to an engagement.

The king of Poland, who was extremely affected at the devaſtation that had been made,

[v] Dr. Burney, after deſcribing the *Frauen Kirche*, or great Lutheran church of our Lady at Dreſden, which, he ſays, "is a very noble and elegant building, of white ſtone, with a "high dome in the middle," adds farther, "the king of Pruſſia, in his laſt bombardment of Dreſden, tried every means "in his power to beat this church, as well as the other public buildings, about the ears of the inhabitants; but in vain: "for the orbicular form of the dome threw off the balls and "ſhells, and totally prevented their effect. However, he ſucceeded better in five or ſix other churches, which he totally "demoliſhed." Preſent State of Muſic in Germany, vol. II. p. 32.

during

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during this ſhort ſiege, in the capital of his electoral dominions, publiſhed a memorial on the occaſion at Vienna, in which were the following paſſages: 'Since the troubles began, 'that deſolate Germany, his majeſty the king 'of Poland, elector of Saxony, hath been too 'often obliged to make juſt complaints to his 'high allies, to the diet of the empire, and to 'all Europe. Stripped of his hereditary dominions by a neighbour, who, on entering 'them, aſked only a paſſage through them, made 'proteſtations of friendſhip towards the ſovereign, and declared he had no ground of 'complaint againſt him, nor any claim on the 'country; the king could not but look on the 'acts of hoſtility, committed by the Pruſſians, 'as ſo many injuries, as ſo many breaches of 'the law of nations, and manifeſt violations of 'the laws of the empire. But things were ſoon 'carried to ſuch a length, that SAXONY would 'have thought herſelf too happy to find in the 'king of Pruſſia, not a depoſitary, but a declared enemy, provided this enemy would 'have reſpected the laws and cuſtoms of war, 'which humanity preſcribes, and which all civilized nations have hitherto obſerved. She 'would not, in that caſe, have ſeen her towns 'ſubjected to contributions, which exceed all 'meaſure [z]; the ſuburbs of the capital ſet on 'fire,

[z] It is ſaid, that 'the contributions that Frederick drew 'from Saxony, in 1760, amounted to more than two millions of

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'fire, without neceſſity; the lands laid waſte; 'and what completes her misfortunes, her 'young men torn from her by force, and con-'ſtrained to bear arms againſt their ſovereign. 'Horrid treatment! and ſo oppoſite to huma-'nity, that it is without example, not among 'civilized nations only, but even among the 'greateſt barbarians.

'SUNK under ſuch grievous oppreſſions, 'Saxony ſeemed to have no room to fear that 'her condition could be worſe. Nevertheleſs, 'ſhe hath found within the ſpace of the laſt 'year, that freſh misfortunes were in reſerve 'for her; and that, if the Pruſſians ſeemed 'for ſome time to preſerve the country, it was 'only that they themſelves might enjoy its 'produce. This tenderneſs was not dictated by 'humanity, but by intereſt. As the danger of 'being expelled Saxony increaſed, they diſplay-'ed their cruelty. If they quitted any part of the 'country without hope of returning, they gave

'of crowns, together with ten thouſand recruits, ſeveral hun-'dred thouſand buſhels of corn, and many thouſand horſes, 'oxen, ſheep, &c. The fineſt foreſts were alſo cut down 'and ſold.' Vie de Frederick II. Roy de Pruſſe, tom. II. p. 114.

Of the Pruſſian mode of raiſing recruits in Saxony, the following account was publiſhed about this time: 'The Pruſſians 'have carried off from Tchoppau and Chemnitz, rich manu-'facturing towns in Saxony, every man fit to carry arms, without 'any regard to the remonſtrances of the manufacturers, or to the 'cries of their diſtreſſed wives and children.' Gent. Mag. for February, 1761, p. 93.

'it

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'it up to pillage. Wherever they came, the 'unhappy peaſant was plundered without mer-'cy; grain, forage, horſes, cattle of all kinds, 'were taken from him; and he was leſt with-'out ſubſiſtence. Whole families, and the 'beſt workmen of all ſorts, were carried off. 'Even women found no ſafeguard in their ſex; 'but all, who were thought uſeful for Branden-'burgh, were torn from their families, and 'carried into ſlavery.

'THE city of DRESDEN remained. Notwith-'ſtanding the ruin of its ſuburbs, it ſtill main-'tained a numerous people: it was the reſource 'of the neighbouring country. To complete the 'ruin of Saxony, the unfortunate city was to be 'deſtroyed. Had the enemy attacked the place 'according to the rules and cuſtoms of war, had 'they directed their efforts againſt the ram-'parts, the king would, without doubt, have 'lamented the evils that would have reſulted 'from it to his people; but he would have la-'mented them without complaining: and 'though, in the fierceſt wars, the reſi-'dences of ſovereigns have hitherto been gene-'rally ſpared, his majeſty would have been 'ſilent; for, in ſhort, one is accuſtomed to 'conſider the king of Pruſſia not as an ordinary 'enemy. But the Pruſſians made war on the 'innocent townſmen; their fire was wholly 'directed againſt the houſes; and they endea-'voured to deſtroy a town which they could not 'take.

'THE

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'THE king cannot forbear pointing out to all Europe this remarkable circumſtance, that the enemy redoubled their fire againſt the houſes of Dreſden, and did them the greateſt damage, when the arrival of mareſchal Daun, with his whole army, left them no hope of being able to take the place; and in ſhort, that in drawing off their men from the ſuburbs before Wilſdruff-gate, they laid in aſhes upwards of an hundred houſes that had eſcaped in the preceding fires. The king of Pruſſia ſucceeded in completing the misfortunes of Saxony, by the diſaſters that befel the capital. Three hundred and fifty houſes deſtroyed, with all that was in them, and a great many others half ruined, are a fatal loſs to a city already exhauſted by four ſucceſſive years of misfortunes. After theſe things, the king thinks it ſcarcely worth while to mention his palaces and gardens, which were ſacked and ruined, in contempt of the regard uſually paid from one ſovereign to another. Is there a man in the empire, or even in all Europe, who doth not ſee in theſe terrible effects an implacable hatred, and a deſtructive fury, which all nations ought to concur in repreſſing [c].'

AFTER general Laudohn had made himſelf maſter of Glatz, as I have already mentioned, he proceeded immediately to Breſlaw, and laid

[c] Annual Regiſter, vol. III. p. 208, 209.

ſiege

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ſiege to that city. Having ſummoned the Pruſſian governor, count Taventzein, to ſurrender, that officer replied, that he ſhould defend the place to the laſt extremity. Laudohn thereupon opened his batteries on the firſt of Auguſt, and poured in upon the town a moſt terrible ſhower of bombs and red hot bullets, which continued till midnight. During this dreadful diſcharge, which filled the place with horror and deſolation, the Auſtrian general attempted the outworks by aſſault. The Croats attacked the covered way in different places with their uſual impetuoſity; but were repulſed with conſiderable loſs, by the conduct and reſolution of the governor and garriſon. General Laudohn, however, continued to bombard the city, a conſiderable part of which was reduced to aſhes [A]. But prince Henry of Pruſſia having received intelligence, that the Ruſſian army intended to join general Laudohn at Breſlaw, reſolved to advance, with the troops under his command, and to relieve that city before the propoſed junction. He marched more than one hundred and twenty miles in five days, with all his artillery and baggage, and arrived within a few miles of Breſlaw on the fifth of Auguſt. General Laudohn did not chuſe to hazard an action with

[A] It was remarked, that, during this ſhort ſiege, the Auſtrians had killed the fineſt ſoldier in the Pruſſian army, and the moſt beautiful woman in Breſlaw, and deſtroyed the handſomeſt edifice in that city. The ſoldier, who was much admired for his perſon, belonged to the regiment of guards; and the female, who was alſo killed, was a young lady of the name of Muller.

with the Ruſſians; and, therefore, abandoned the ſiege on the approach of prince Henry [f]. CHAP. XXIX. A. D. 1760.

Muller. The edifice deſtroyed was the palace of prince Hatzfield. Vie de Frederick II. Roy de Pruſſe, tom. II. p. 268.

[f] Hiſt. of Modern Europe, ut ſupra, p. 184. Annual Regiſter, vol. III. p. 19.

CHAP. XXX.

Frederick marches into Sileſia.—Battle of Lignitz.—Letter from the king to the marquis D'Argens.—He forms a junction with his brother prince Henry, and raiſes the ſiege of Schweidnitz.—The Ruſſians and Auſtrians enter the Marche of Brandenburgh, and make themſelves maſters of Berlin.—After a ſhort ſtay, the Ruſſians retire into Poland, and the Auſtrians into Saxony.—Progreſs of the Imperialiſts and Auſtrians in Saxony.—Battle of Torgau.—The king's correſpondence with the counteſs de Camas.—He puts his troops into winter quarters.

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WHEN the king of Pruſſia found himſelf obliged, by count Daun, to raiſe the ſiege of Dreſden, he reſolved immediately to march into Sileſia. Having left general Hulſen, with fifteen thouſand men, in the entrenched camp of Schlettow, to maintain his footing in Saxony, he began to march for Sileſia on the third of Auguſt. He was followed by count Daun with the grand Auſtrian army; while a detached body of Auſtrians, under general Laſcy, took poſt at Rechenberg, and the army of the empire encamped at Keſſeldorff. Frederick paſſed five rivers, the Elbe, the Spree, the Neiſs, the Queiſs, and the Bober; and marched with extraordinary rapidity, though his army was encumbered with its heavy artillery.

illery, and more than two thouſand waggons. But notwithſtanding the celerity of his march, before he could come to any action, mareſchal Daun, with the main Auſtrian army, had formed a junction with general Laudohn, and they were ſoon after joined by count Laſcy. The Auſtrians then extended themſelves along the Katſbach, a river which falls into the Oder, and occupied all the ground from Parchwitz to Coſſendau, a ſpace of little leſs than thirty Engliſh miles. But, in this extent, their poſts were every where ſtrong, and their communications eaſy. On the tenth of Auguſt, Frederick encamped at LIGNITZ: but it was in vain that, for ſeveral days, he attempted, by various devices, to detach one body of the enemy from the reſt, or to turn their flanks, and attack them at diſadvantage. The nature of the ground, or the ſkill of the oppoſite generals, always diſappointed him[a].

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IN this ſtate of things, the king received information, that twenty-four thouſand Ruſſians, under count Czernichef, had thrown bridges over the Oder at Auras, where they intended to croſs that river: and he concluded, that the enemy had formed a deſign to cloſe him in, and to attack him with their joint forces. But before any junction could take place between the Ruſſians and the Auſtrians, as the latter were, without any ſuch junction, greatly ſuperior in number to the Pruſſians, mareſchal Daun, having reconnoitred the king's

[a] Annual Regiſter, vol. III p. 26, 27.

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ſituation at LIGNITZ, had formed a deſign of attacking him by ſurprize, in the night, with the united ſtrength of the three Auſtrian armies; and he had communicated his intentions to the two other generals. Of this deſign, the Pruſſian monarch is ſuppoſed to have received ſome private intimation: for, on the ſame night in which it was to have taken effect, he quitted his camp with the utmoſt privacy, and occupied an advantageous poſt on the heights of PSAFFENDORFF, by which general Laudohn was to have advanced. The Pruſſians had but juſt arrived at their new ſituation, when they received information, about two o'clock in the morning, that general Laudohn was in full march, and that his columns advanced by Bennowitz. The Pruſſian army thereupon ſeparated into two bodies; the right remained upon the ground where it had been formed, to obſerve mareſchal Daun, and to prevent him from advancing from the Schwartzwaſſer and through LIGNITZ [b]; and ſixteen battalions and thirty ſquadrons wheeled about, in order to attack general Laudohn the moment he arrived.

AT three in the morning, on the fifteenth of Auguſt, the Auſtrian general had advanced to the village of PSAFFENDORFF, when the day dawning, and a thick fog gradually diſperſing, the Pruſſian army appeared in order of battle,

[b] Univerſal Mag. vol. XXVII. p. 159, from the London Gazette.

in

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n a well choſen ſituation, and ſtrengthened vith a numerous train of artillery, placed to the beſt advantage. General Laudohn was aſtoniſhed to find the Pruſſians in this ſituation, of which he had not entertained the moſt diſtant conception. He formed his troops, however, as well as the time, place, and circumſtances would permit; and the Pruſſians advancing to the attack, a ſevere action enſued. The king rode along the line to animate the troops, and ſuperintended every part of the charge, hazarding his life in the moſt dangerous ſcenes of the battle; ſo that his horſe was killed under him, and his clothes were ſhot through in ſeveral places [c]. The Auſtrians maintained the fight with great obſtinacy until ſix in the morning, when they gave ground, and were purſued to the Katzbach, beyond which Frederick would not allow his troops to proſecute the advantage they had gained, that they might be able to ſuccour the right, in caſe mareſchal Daun ſhould ſucceed in his attempt to advance againſt them from LIGNITZ. That general had, indeed, made his approaches to the camp which the Pruſſians had juſt before occupied; and was much ſurprized, on his arrival at Lignitz, to find no enemy there. But when he perceived a thick cloud of ſmoke at a diſtance, he comprehended what had happened, and endeavoured to advance to the ſupport of Laudohn, by the way of Lignitz. This, however, was prevented, by the Pruſſian troops and artillery

[c] Smollett, ut ſupra, p. 272.

which

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which had been left to diſpute his march, whic were ſo advantageouſly diſpoſed, as to rend all his efforts abortive.

In the battle of Lignitz, the loſs on the fid of the Auſtrians amounted to more than fi thouſand, killed, wounded, and priſoners; to gether with twenty-three pair of colours, an eighty-two pieces of cannon. The loſs of th Pruſſians was computed at ſeventeen hundre killed and wounded. Immediately after th action Frederick marched to Parchwitz; whil marſchal Daun detached a ſtrong body o troops, under prince Lowenſtein and genera Beck, to ſtrengthen the Ruſſians, and to encou rage them to advance. But count Czerniche was ſo much alarmed by the defeat of the Auſ trians at Lignitz, that, inſtead of advancing, h repaſſed the Oder by the ſame bridges on whic he had lately croſſed it [d]. By the victory, there fore, which the king of Pruſſia had obtained, h not only eſcaped the imminent danger of a de feat from the joint efforts of the different Au trian armies, but alſo prevented the junction c the Ruſſian and Auſtrian forces [B].

Bu

[d] Annual Regiſter, ut ſupra, p. 29.

[B] In an account of ſome of the operations of this campaig which was publiſhed by authority at Berlin, it is ſaid, th "the battle of Lignitz ſtopped the execution of the deſig "of the king's enemies againſt him, and diſconcerted th "plan for the reſt of the campaign. Three armies, each "them ſuperior in number to that of the king, which h "even entirely ſurrounded him, and which counted ſo mu "

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But notwithſtanding the advantage which he had gained by his ſucceſs in this action, he was ſtill ſurrounded by numerous enemies, and his ſituation was extremely critical. A letter, which he wrote ſoon after the battle of Lignitz to the marquis D'Argens, who had congratulated him upon his victory, was intercepted by a Ruſſian detachment, and was afterwards printed and circulated about, with a view of diſpiriting his friends. Of that letter which contains ſome obſervations on his ſituation at this time, the following is a tranſlation:

'FORMERLY, my dear marquis, the affair of 'the 15th of Auguſt would have decided a cam-'paign: at preſent, that action is no more than 'a ſcratch. A great battle muſt determine our 'fate. We ſhall have one, according to all ap-'pearances, very ſoon; and then, if the event 'be favourable to us, we may rejoice. I re-'turn you thanks, however, for the ſincere part 'that you take in the late advantage which I 'have obtained. It required many ſtratagems, 'and much addreſs, to bring things to that 'paſs. Do not talk to me of danger; the laſt 'action coſt me only a ſuit of clothes and a 'horſe. That is buying victory very cheap.

" on the ſucceſs of the meaſures they had taken to overwhelm " him, that they had even fixed the day which was to decide " his fate, were, by this victory, reduced for a long time to " total inaction, and obliged to think more of defending them-" ſelves, than of forming offenſive enterprizes." Grand Mag. vol. III. p. 614.

'I HAVE

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'I HAVE not received the letter which you 'mention. We are in a manner blocked up, 'in regard to correſpondence, by the Ruſſians 'on one ſide the Oder, and by the Auſtrians 'on the other. A ſmall ſkirmiſh was neceſ- 'ſary to clear the way for Cocceii [c]: I hope 'that he will deliver you my letter.

'I NEVER was in the courſe of my life, in a 'more embarraſſing ſituation than in this cam- 'paign. Believe me, nothing leſs than a mira- 'cle is ſtill neceſſary to extricate me from the 'difficulties that I foreſee. I ſhall certainly 'do my duty when occaſion offers; but, my 'dear marquis, always remember, that I pre- 'tend not to command fortune, and that I am 'obliged, in my projects, to leave too much 'to chance, becauſe I have it not in my power 'to form ſchemes that are more ſolid. I have 'the labours of a Hercules to undergo, at a 'time of life when my ſtrength fails me, and 'my infirmities increaſe; and, to ſpeak the 'truth, when hope, the only conſolation of 'the unhappy, begins to deſert me. You are 'not ſufficiently acquainted with the circum- 'ſtances of affairs, to have a clear idea of all 'the dangers which threaten the ſtate. I know, 'but conceal them: I keep all my fears to my- 'ſelf; and only communicate to the public 'my hopes, or the little good news which I

[c] Cocceii was the name of the aid-de-camp, who was charged with the care of this letter.

'can

'can acquaint them with. If the blow that I 'meditate ſucceeds, then, my dear marquis, 'it will be time enough to expreſs our joy. 'But, till then, let us not flatter ourſelves, 'leſt, by ſome unexpected ill news, we ſhould 'be too much dejected.

'I LEAD here the life of a military monk. 'I have much to think of about my affairs; 'and the reſt of my time I devote to literature, 'which is my conſolation, as it was that of the 'conſul, the father of his country, and of elo- 'quence. I know not whether I ſhall ſurvive 'this war; but, if that ſhould be the caſe, I 'am reſolved to paſs the remainder of my days 'in retirement, in the boſom of philoſophy, 'and of friendſhip.

'WHEN our correſpondence ſhall be more 'open, you will oblige me by writing more 'frequently. I know not where we ſhall have 'our winter-quarters. My houſe at Breſlaw 'was deſtroyed in the late bombardment. Our 'enemies envy us every thing, even day light, 'and the air we breathe. They muſt, however, 'leave us ſome place; and, if it be ſafe, it will 'be a treat to receive you there.

'PRAY, my dear marquis, what is become 'of the peace with France? Your nation, you 'ſee, is more blind than you imagined. Thoſe 'fools loſe Canada, and Pondicherry, to pleaſe 'the queen of Hungary and the czarina. Hea-

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'ven grant, that prince Ferdinand may well 'reward them for their zeal! The officers, in-'nocent of theſe evils, and the ſoldiers, will 'be made the victims; and the illuſtrious 'offenders will ſuffer nothing.—I was in a wri-'ting vein, but I ſee that I muſt conclude, leſt 'I ſhould tire you, and neglect my own buſi-'neſs. Adieu, my dear marquis; I embrace 'you [e].'

From Parchwitz the king of Pruſſia proceeded to Newmarcke, where he formed a junction with his brother prince Henry. He then advanced with his whole force to the relief of Schweidnitz, which was now blocked up by the Auſtrian army under the command of count Daun. In his march, he fell upon a ſeparate body under general Beck, made two battalions of Croats priſoners, and diſperſed ſeveral ſquadrons. The Auſtrian general then raiſed the blockade of Schweidnitz, and retreated to the mountains of Landihut.

But whilſt Frederick was exerting himſelf with the utmoſt activity againſt his enemies in Sileſia, the capital of his dominions was attacked both by the Auſtrians and the Ruſſians. After the Ruſſian army had retreated out of Sileſia, count Czernichef, with a ſtrong detachment, entered the Marche of Brandenburgh; while a numerous body of Auſtrians and Imperialiſts, under the generals Laſcy and

[e] Vie de Frederick II. Roi de Pruſſe, tom. II. p. 126, 127, 128. Annual Regiſter, ut ſupra, p. 31, 32. Entick's Hiſt. of the War, vol. IV. p 400, 401.

Brentano,

entano, penetrated into the ſame country
›m Saxony, with inſtructions to join the
ıſſians at the gates of BERLIN. General Hul-
ı, who had commanded a body of Pruſſian
›ops againſt the Imperialiſts in Miſnia, now
ew near to Berlin, where he was joined by
other body of troops under general Werner,
ıich had lately returned from Pomerania.
ıt as their forces, after this junction, did not
:ceed ſixteen thouſand men, and the Ruſſians,
ıſtrians, and Imperialiſts, amounted to forty
ouſand, they would not pretend to oppoſe
e enemy in the open field, nor to defend a
ty of ſuch extent, and ſo imperfectly forti-
:d. Such an attempt, they thought, would
ıly have expoſed their troops to ruin, with-
ıt being able to ſave the capital, which would
:obably be the more ſeverely treated, in con-
quence of their oppoſition. They, there-
›re, reſolved ro retire, after having repulſed
ıe advanced guard of the Ruſſians under Tot-
eben, which attacked the gates, and began
› bombard the city, before the great armies
›peared. At their approach, the Pruſſian ge-
erals retreated to Spandau, leaving three
eak battalions in Berlin, in hopes that they
ıight be the means of obtaining ſome terms
›r the city. On the firſt ſummons, articles
f capitulation were propoſed; but theſe were
ɛfuſed, and the garriſon were obliged to
ırrender themſelves priſoners of war. In
ıvour of the city, however, the foreign miniſ-
ɛrs, reſident at Berlin, interpoſed their media-

tion

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tion with ſuch zeal and ſucceſs, that tolerable conditions were obtained. The inhabitants were indulged with the free exerciſe of their religion, and an immunity from violence to their perſons and effects. It was agreed, that the Ruſſian irregulars ſhould not enter the city; and that the king's palace ſhould not be violated. Theſe articles being ratified, the Auſtrian and Ruſſian troops entered the place, where they totally deſtroyed the magazines, arſenals, and founderies, with an immenſe quantity of military ſtores, and a great number of cannon and ſmall arms. They then demanded the immediate payment of eight hundred thouſand guilders, and afterwards exacted a contribution of one million nine hundred thouſand German crowns. Sundry precautions appear to have been adopted by the Auſtrian and Ruſſian officers, in order to obſerve an exact diſcipline; notwithſtanding which many outrages were committed by the licentious ſoldiery. But the country of Brandenburgh ſuffered more ſeverely on this occaſion than the city of Berlin; for the country had made no conditions; and it was found extremely difficult to reſtrain the licentiouſneſs of the Ruſſian Caſſocks. The apartments of the royal palace of Charlottenburgh were plundered, the furniture ſpoiled, the pictures defaced, and ſome fine antique ſtatues, which had been collected by cardinal Polignac, and afterwards purchaſed by the king of Pruſſia, were mutilated and damaged. The caſtle of Schonhauſen, belonging

ing to the queen, and that of Fredericksfeldt, belonging to the margrave Charles, were alſo plundered. But the king's favourite palace of Sans-Souci was effectually protected by prince Eſterhaſi, who commanded at Potſdam. That prince, who was a general in the Auſtrian ſervice, would not ſuffer the leaſt injury to be done to this palace; but having inquired which of the portraits of the king in the palace reſembled him moſt, deſired leave to take that picture, and two of his German flutes, which he ſhould preſerve, he ſaid, as memorials of his Pruſſian majeſty [f].

It was on the ninth of October that the Ruſſian and Auſtrian troops entered Berlin, and they quitted it on the thirteenth, on hearing that the king was in full march to the relief of his capital. The body of Ruſſians, which had entered Berlin, marched from thence into Poland, by the way of Furſtenwalde, while the Auſtrians took the route of Saxony, from whence they had advanced into Brandenburgh. In their retreat, by different routes, they drove away all the cattle and horſes they could find, ravaged the country, and are ſaid to have committed many outrages on the inhabitants. But ſome accounts, which were afterwards publiſhed at Berlin, of the behaviour of the Ruſſians and Auſtrians in that city, and in the country of Brandenburgh, appear to contain much exaggeration.

[f] Smollett, *ubi ſupra*, p. 276, 277. Annual Regiſter, p. 44, 45. Vie de Frederick II. Roy de Pruſſe, tom. II. p. 273.

WHILE

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WHILE the Ruſſians and Auſtrians were employed in invading the electorate of Brandenburgh, the duke de Deuxponts, at the head of the army of the empire, together with ſome bodies of Auſtrian troops, took poſſeſſion of Torgau and Leipſic, and all the other great towns in Saxony, excepting Dreſden; and the Auſtrians and Imperialiſts became maſters on both ſides the Elbe. A detachment from the French army in Weſtphalia alſo laid Halberſtadt under contribution; and one part of Pomerania was ravaged by the Swedes, and another by the Ruſſians, who had inveſted Colberg both by ſea and land.

WHEN the king of Pruſſia was informed, that his enemies had abandoned Berlin, and evacuated Brandenburgh, inſtead of proceeding thither, he immediately paſſed the Elbe, and ruſhed into Saxony. Mareſchal Daun followed with an army of eighty thouſand men, and encamped in the neighbourhood of Torgau; his right wing extending to the Elbe, by which it was covered, and his centre and his left being ſecured by ponds, hills, and woods[s]. It was on the twenty-ſeventh of October, that the right wing of the king of Pruſſia's army paſſed the Elbe at Reſlau, where he was joined by the troops under general Hulſen and the prince of Wirtemberg. On the day following, the right wing proceeded to Kemberg, where it rejoined the left, which had croſſed the Elbe at Bleſſern.

[s] Hiſt. of Modern Europe, vol. V. p. 389.

ſern. The Pruſſian army then encamped on the right of the Mulda, the reſerve, under general Hulſen, extending to Taucha. The army of the empire thereupon retreated, and general Hulſen took poſſeſſion of Leipſic, and afterwards rejoined the main Pruſſian army.

THE ſituation of the king of Pruſſia at the preſent period was ſo extremely critical, and his enemies ſo numerous and ſo formidable, that he reſolved at all events to hazard a battle with the main Auſtrian army; though it was ſo much ſuperior in number to his own, and ſo ſtrongly poſted, as to render the attempt apparently highly dangerous and imprudent. He told his army, that he was about to lead them on to a moſt deſperate attempt, that his affairs required it, and that he was determined to conquer, or die in the expected engagement. They anſwered, with ardour, that they would die or conquer with him. He divided his army into three bodies: general Hulſen, with one of theſe bodies, was directed to take poſt in a wood on the left of the Auſtrian army, and had orders not to move until he found the other diviſions of the Pruſſian army were engaged; general Ziethen was inſtructed to charge on the enemy's right; and the grand attack in front was to be conducted by the king himſelf in perſon [h].

[h] Annual Regiſter, ut ſupra, p. 47. Hiſt. of Modern Europe, p. 390.

WHEN

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When mareſchal Daun found, that the king of Pruſſia was determined to fight him, he ſent all his baggage, with a view of preventing confuſion, over the Elbe, acroſs which he threw three bridges, to be ready in caſe a retreat ſhould be found neceſſary; and, at the ſame time, he cauſed Torgau to be evacuated. Then extending his firſt line to a village called Zinne on the left, he ſtretched it to another called Groſwitz on the right; ſupporting the right of his ſecond line upon the Elbe. In this diſpoſition he was found, about two o'clock in the afternoon, on the third of November, 1760, when the king began his attack, and was received by the fire of two hundred pieces of cannon, which were arranged along the Auſtrian front.

The Pruſſians commenced the battle with the moſt deſperate animoſity; but they met with ſuch a warm reception from the artillery, ſmall arms, and in particular from the Auſtrian carabineers, that their grenadiers were ſhattered and repulſed. The ſecond charge, though made with extraordinary vigour, was equally unſucceſsful. Frederick then ordered his cavalry to advance, and they fell upon ſome regiments of infantry with ſuch fury as compelled them to give way. But theſe were obliged to retire, in their turn, before ſeven battalions of the Auſtrians, who advanced towards Torgau, ſtretching with their right to the Elbe, and their left to Zinne. The prince of Holſtein then rallied the Pruſſian cavalry, and returned

to the charge. The third line of Pruſſian infantry alſo attacked the village of Suptitz, and general Ziethen, with the right wing, took the enemy in the rear. This diſpoſition threw the Auſtrians into diſorder, and their defeat was facilitated by mareſchal Daun receiving ſo dangerous a wound in the thigh, as rendered it neceſſary that he ſhould be carried off the field of battle. He reſigned the command of the army to general Buccow; but his arm was ſhot off in a few minutes after, and the command then devolved upon general Odonell, an officer of great merit, who was deſcended from a good family in Ireland. The Auſtrians retreated under his direction; and they croſſed the Elbe on the bridges of boats, which had been thrown over the river at TORGAU. The Pruſſians were the leſs able to proſecute their victory, becauſe the action had laſted until nine at night, and the night was unuſually dark. The king himſelf, as uſual, expoſed his perſon in the moſt dangerous parts of the battle, and was ſlightly wounded by a muſket ball upon the breaſt [D].

THE

[D] It appears from ſome anecdotes which are related concerning the king after this battle, that other balls had penetrated his clothes. It alſo appears from the ſame anecdotes, that he was not ſo much with his guards during this action as uſual; and, from the particulars that are mentioned, it ſeems that he ſometimes let his ſoldiers, and particularly his guards, take great liberties with him. It is ſaid, that the night after the battle of TORGAU being very cold, large fires were made, near

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THE battle of TORGAU was a very hard conteſted battle, and though the Pruſſians gained the victory, their loſs in killed and wounded

one of which the king ſtood to warm himſelf, ſurrounded by ſome of his grenadier guards. The name of one of thoſe who ſtood neareſt him was REBIAK; and with this man the king often converſed very familiarly, and frequently gave him money. On this occaſion Rebiak aſked his majeſty, who had commended his guards for their bravery, where he himſelf had been during moſt of the battle? "Generally," ſaid he, "we have been "accuſtomed to ſee you at our head; and to be led on by you "to the hotteſt fire. But to-day we have ſeen very little of "you. You did not uſe to deſert us thus formerly." Frederick mildly replied, that he had been in another part of the action, where his preſence had been more neceſſary, and which had prevented him from being with his guards as uſual. During this converſation, the king growing warm with the heat of the fire, unbuttoned his ſurtout; and then the ſoldiers obſerved a muſquet-ball fall from his clothes; and from the holes which had been made in his clothes, they alſo perceived the dangers he had encountered. The grenadiers then exclaimed, "Thou "art our old FRITZ; thou partakeſt every danger with us; "and we will die for thee. *Vive le Roi! Vive le Roi!*" FRITZ was a diminution of FREDERICK, and was expreſſive of familiarity and affection.

Another grenadier afterwards ſaid to the king, "Now, I "ſuppoſe, Fritz, thou wilt allow us good winter-quarters." "*Par tous les diables*," exclaimed the king, "I ſhall not, till "we have taken Dreſden; and then I will provide for you to "your heart's content." During this converſation, ſome of the old grenadiers had lighted their ſhort pipes, and as they crowded round the king, perfumed him very liberally with the ſmoke of their tobacco. One of them then ſaid to the others, "Keep back." "No, ſtay, my boy," ſaid the king, "I "like the ſmell." But though the king was thus willing to keep

d [E] amounted to more than ſeven thouſand. The number of the Auſtrians killed and wounded is ſuppoſed not to have been much greater; but the Pruſſians took near eight thouſand prioners, including four generals, and two hunred other officers, together with twenty-nine air of colours, one ſtandard, and forty pieces f cannon.

THE day after the battle, the king entered he town of Torgau; and, in conſequence of is victory, he recovered all Saxony, excepng Dreſden, before the end of the campaign. e had entertained very ſtrong hopes of being ble to regain poſſeſſion of Dreſden; but he as diſappointed; for general Odonell, after he battle, had retreated towards that city,

ep his grenadiers in good humour, it was well known, that he d a great diſlike to the ſmell of tobacco.

Vie de Frederick II. Roy de Pruſſe, tom. II. p. 275, 276. Anecdotes and Characteriſtics of Frederick the Great, vol. I. p. 61, 62, 63.

It appears from ſeveral anecdotes which are related of the ing, that he ſometimes ſwore in converſation; and Voltaire ys of him, "He has a pleaſing tone of voice, even in ſwearing, which is as familiar to him as to a grenadier." Idee du Roy de Pruſſe, p. 4.

[E] Among the wounded, in the battle of Torgau, was an inferior officer, who had much diſtinguiſhed himſelf in the action, and who had his right hand ſhot off. After the battle, the king aſked him, what recompence he ſhould make him for the loſs of his right hand? "Sire," replied the officer, "only permit me to ſerve you with my left." Frederick appeared ſtruck with this anſwer, and immediately made him a captain.

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provided for its ſafety, and taken poſſeſſion of the ſtrong camp at Plauen; and the king found himſelf unable to diſlodge the Auſtrians from that ſituation. In the following letter, which was written a few days after the battle, to the counteſs de Camas, grand miſtreſs of the queen's houſehold, for whom the king had a great eſteem, he has expreſſed his diſappointment reſpecting Dreſden:

'Newſtadt, Nov. 11, 1760.

'I am punctual in anſwering, and eager to 'oblige you. Perſons of the ſame age agree 'wonderfully. I have given up ſuppers theſe 'four years, as incompatible with the buſineſs 'that I am forced to carry on; and, on marching 'ing days, my dinner is only a diſh of choco 'late. We have been running like madmen 'quite elated with victory, to ſee whether we 'could drive the Auſtrians from Dreſden; but 'they laughed at us from the tops of their 'mountains. I returned, like a diſappointed 'child, to hide my vexation in one of the moſt 'curſed villages of Saxony. We muſt now 'drive meſſieurs Les Cercles [F] out of Freyberg 'and Chemnitz, in order to get ſomething to 'eat, and a place to ſleep in.

'This is, I ſwear to you, ſuch a dog's life, as 'no one, except Don Quixote, ever led but 'myſelf. All this buſtle, all this confuſion 'which ſeems to be without end, has made me

[F] The king means the army of the empire.

'ſuch

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'ſuch an old fellow, that you would hardly 'know me again. The hair on the right ſide 'of my head is grown quite grey; my teeth 'break, and fall out; my face is full of wrin-'kles as the furbelow of a petticoat; and my 'body arched like a monk's of La Trappe. I 'give you notice of all this, that, if we ſhould 'meet again in fleſh and bone, you may not be 'too much ſhocked at my figure. Nothing be-'longing to me remains unaltered, except my 'heart, which, as long as I breathe, will retain 'ſentiments of eſteem, and of tender friend-'ſhip, for my good mamma. Adieu [k].

In another letter written to the ſame lady, dated the 27th of the ſame month, he ſays, 'We have ſettled our winter quarters; I have 'yet a little round to take, and afterwards I 'ſhall go and ſeek for tranquillity at Leipſic, if 'it be to be found there; but, indeed, for me, 'tranquillity is only a metaphyſical word, which 'has no reality [l].' Another of his letters to the counteſs, appears to have been an anſwer to one from her, in which ſhe had informed him, that one of the maids of honour in the queen's court, who was ſaid to have a dropſy, had been diſcovered by her to be with child. In reference to this incident, Frederick ſays, 'In truth, my good mamma, you are very ex-

[k] Correſpondance familiere et amicale de Frederick Roi de Pruſſe, avec U. F. de Suhm, &c. tom. II. p. 140, 141. Monthly Review, vol. LXXVI. p. 580.

[l] Correſpondance familiere et amicale, ut ſupra, p. 141.

'pert,

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'pert, and I congratulate you upon your ſkill 'in dropſies. The event which has happened 'is a very common one; and there are no 'courts, nor even convents, in which ſuch 'things do not happen. For myſelf, who am 'apt to be very indulgent to the weakneſſes of 'our ſpecies, I am not inclined to ſtone maids 'of honour who produce children. They con-'tribute to perpetuate the human ſpecies, 'which ferocious politicians are employed in 'deſtroying, by their ſanguinary wars. I con-'feſs to you, that I like better thoſe females 'whoſe diſpoſitions are too tender and ſuſcep-'tible, than thoſe dragons of chaſtity, who are 'for giving no quarter to offenders of their 'own ſex.—Let this child be well brought up, 'that no family may be diſgraced, and let the 'poor offending female be removed from the 'court with as much delicacy as poſſible, and 'in that manner which may be the leaſt inju-'rious to her reputation [m].' In another letter he ſays to the counteſs, 'I wiſh you, my good 'mamma, all the proſperity of which theſe 'calamitous times are ſuſceptible; and eſpeci-'ally that you may preſerve your good humour, 'the greateſt and moſt real treaſure, that for-'tune can give us [n].'

On the twenty-fifth of October, 1760, died George II. king of Great Britain, and was ſucceeded by his preſent majeſty, king George III.

[m] Correſpondance familiere et amicale, ut ſupra, p. 142.

[n] Ibid. p. 146.

I

in whoſe firſt ſpeech to the parliament was the following paſſage: "I rely upon your zeal "and hearty concurrence to ſupport the king "of Pruſſia, and the reſt of my allies, and to "make ample proviſion for carrying on the "war, as the only means to bring our ene-"mies to equitable terms of accommodation." On the twelfth of December following, the fifth treaty was concluded between Great Britain and Pruſſia, by which it was agreed, that a fourth ſum of 670,000l. ſhould be paid to his Pruſſian majeſty, in the ſame manner as had been ſtipulated by the preceding treaties [G].

Soon

[G] It appears from the accounts of the ſupplies voted by the Britiſh parliament, for the year 1761, that the following ſums were alſo granted that year, in ſupport of the German war:

	£.	s.
For defraying the charge of 39,773 men of the troops of Hanover, Wolfenbuttle, Saxe Gotha, and count of Buckeburg, for one year — — — —	463,874	0 0
For defraying the charge of 2120 horſe, and 9900 foot, troops of Heſſe-Caſſel, for one year — — —	268,360	0 0
For defraying the charge of an additional corps of 1576 horſe, and 8808 foot, troops of Heſſe-Caſſel, for one year —	147,071	0 0
For defraying the charge of 1205 cavalry and 2208 infantry, troops of the duke of Brunſwick, for one year, and a ſubſidy for that time — —	57,798	0 0
For defraying the charges of five battalions ſerving in Germany, for one year —	25,504	0 0

For

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Soon after the battle of Torgau, general Laudohn raiſed the ſiege of Koſek, and retreated to Upper Sileſia; the Ruſſians alſo abandoned the ſiege of Colberg in Eaſtern Pomerania, and retired into Poland; while the Swedes, being defeated by the Pruſſians in Weſtern Pomerania, were again obliged to take refuge under the cannon of Stralſund [o]. As to the king of Pruſſia, having found it impracticable to regain poſſeſſion of Dreſden, he put his troops into winter quarters, in Leipſic, Meiſſen, and the neighbouring towns and villages. He reſided himſelf chiefly at Leipſic; and it is ſaid, that in the midſt of 'preparations for a new 'campaign, againſt 280,000 enemies, he yet 'found ſufficient leiſure for peaceable occu-'pations; and conſecrated ſome hours every 'day to reading, to muſic, and to the conver-'ſation of men of letters [p].

Among other literary men with whom the king converſed, during this winter, one was M. Gellert, then profeſſor of belles lettres at Leipſic. The king ſent M. Guiſcard, then a

For defraying the charges of forage, bread, bread-waggons, train of artillery, &c. of the army under the command of prince Ferdinand — — £. 1,000,000 s.

Annual Regiſter, vol. V. p. 153, 154.

[o] Hiſt. of Modern Europe, vol. V. p. 392.

[p] Vie de Frederick II. Roy de Pruſſe, tom. II. p. 141.

majo

major in his army, and to whom he had given the name of Quintus Icilius, to bring the profeſſor to him. They had a long converſation together; and Frederick aſked him, among other things, what was the reaſon, that there were no good German writers? Quintus obſerved, that his majeſty had then before his eyes an excellent German writer, whoſe productions even the French had judged worthy of a tranſlation, and whom they called the Fontaine of Germany. The king replied, that this was a ſtrong proof of M. Gellert's merit; but he afterwards aſked, what the reaſon was, that there were not in Germany a greater number of ſuch good authors as he was? Gellert then remarked, that his majeſty ſeemed to be prejudiced againſt the Germans. "By no means," ſaid the king. "Againſt the German writers, "at leaſt," replied the profeſſor. That may be," ſaid the king; "and the truth is, I have "not a very high opinion of them." Gellert remarked, that ſeveral cauſes had contributed to prevent the Germans from becoming eminent as writers. "While the arts and ſciences "flouriſhed among the Greeks," ſaid he, "the "Romans were ſolely occupied in the pernici- "ous art of war. May we not look upon this "as the military age of Germany? May I not "add to this, that the Germans have not been "animated by ſuch patrons of learning as Au- "guſtus and Lewis XIV." Frederick obſerved, that there had been two Auguſtus's in Saxony. Gellert replied, that there had been good begin-

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beginnings in that country; but he afterwards added, "If your majeſty would be ſo generous "as to give peace to Germany."—"How can I "do that?" ſaid Frederick, interrupting him: "Have you not heard, that I have three "crowned heads againſt me?" "My chief "knowledge, ſire," replies the profeſſor, "lies "in antient hiſtory: I have ſtudied much leſs "that of modern times." The king then turned the converſation to Homer and Virgil, and ſeemed himſelf inclined to give the preference to the latter. Some diſcourſe afterwards paſſed concerning Gellert's own works; and the day after, in talking of the profeſſor at table, Frederick ſaid, that "of all the learned Germans, "Gellert was the moſt rational and judici-"ous [q]."

DURING the courſe of this year, the allied army, under the command of prince Ferdinand of Brunſwick, acted chiefly on the defenſive; but, on the thirty-firſt of July, an action took place between the allied army and that of France, at Warburg in Weſtphalia, in which prince Ferdinand obtained the victory. The loſs of the French, in killed, wounded, and priſoners, amounted to more than three thouſand; and the Britiſh troops greatly diſtinguiſhed themſelves in this action. In conſequence of this victory, prince Ferdinand was enabled to prevent the French from penetrating

[q] London Mag. vol. XXXI. p. 191, 192, 193.

deeply

deeply into Hanover; but they took poſſeſſion of the whole landgraviate of Heſſe, and afterwards made themſelves maſters of Gottingen and Munden, in the dominions of his Britannick majeſty.

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Frederick takes poſſeſſion of a ſtrong camp in Upper Sileſia.—Sends a body of troops into Poland, who deſtroy the magazines of the Ruſſians.—General Laudohn takes Schweidnitz by a coup de main.—The Ruſſians make themſelves maſters of Colberg.—Death of the empreſs of Ruſſia.—The king of Pruſſia again makes himſelf maſter of Schweidnitz.—The combined army of Imperialiſts and Auſtrians, in Saxony, defeated by prince Henry of Pruſſia at Freyberg.—Incurſions made by the Pruſſian troops into Bohemia and Franconia, and heavy contributions levied on the inhabitants.—Peace of Huberiſbourg.

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THOUGH the king of Pruſſia, during the long and ſanguinary war in which he was engaged, had exhibited the higheſt degree of courage and of military ſkill, had obtained the moſt ſplendid victories, and made exertions ſo extraordinary, that they ſeemed almoſt miraculous, he yet found, that the longer the war continued, the more his difficulties were increaſed. His army did not conſiſt of the ſame troops, as thoſe with which he had commenced the war; he had loſt vaſt numbers of his men not only in action, but by diſeaſes, by the rigour of the ſeaſons, and by perpetual hardſhips and fatigues; and he had alſo loſt many of

of his beſt and ableſt generals [H]. He had likewiſe loſt great numbers of his men by deſertion; for ſuch was the rigour of the Pruſſian diſcipline, ſuch the hardſhips that his men endured, and many were enliſted by methods ſo oppreſſive and unjuſt [I], that great numbers were always ready to deſert, whenever a favourable opportunity occurred. Saxony had alſo been ſo impoveriſhed and exhauſted, that he could not draw from it the ſupplies that he did at firſt; nor could his own dominions furniſh him either with the money that he wanted, or with a ſufficient number of recruits. His enemies, though they alſo had ſuffered greatly during the war, were not weakened in proportion; becauſe they had more natural, and more conſiderable reſources, with reſpect both to men and money. Theſe difficulties, therefore, induced Frederick during the courſe of the year 1761, to act chiefly on the defenſive.

As during the laſt campaign, the Auſtrians had made themſelves maſters of Glatz, the king

[H] It has been ſaid, 'that the king of Pruſſia's loſſes were not to be reckoned by the men killed and priſoners, but by armies deſtroyed or taken. Forty generals had died, or were ſlain in his ſervice, ſince the firſt of October, 1756, excluſive of thoſe who had been wounded, diſabled, or made priſoners.' Annual Regiſter, vol. III. p. 11.

[I] Baron Bielfeld, ſpeaking of the Pruſſian troops in the year 1740, long before the Saxons had been dragged into the Pruſſian ſervice, ſays, "Almoſt all our levies have been raiſed "either by force or artifice." Letters, vol. IV. p. 26.

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was extremely ſolicitous to prevent their making a progreſs in Sileſia. Early, therefore, in the year 1761, he took poſſeſſion of a very ſtrong camp in Upper Sileſia, not far from Schweidnitz; having left his troops in Saxony, which were ſtrongly encamped near Leipſic, under the command of prince Henry. The Ruſſian army was this year divided into two bodies; one of which, commanded by general Tottleben, directed its march towards Pomerania; and the other, under general Butterlin, entered into Upper Sileſia, and advanced towards Breſlaw. General Laudohn, at the head of an Auſtrian army, entered that province at the part oppoſite to them; and they propoſed to unite their armies, in order to attack the king of Pruſſia, or to take Breſlaw, or Schweidnitz, in his preſence. The Ruſſians ſpread themſelves over all the open country of Sileſia, and exacted heavy contributions; and a body of them appeared before Breſlaw, on the firſt of Auguſt, and began to cannonade the city, from ſeven batteries. In the mean time, general Laudohn exerted the whole of his ſkill to draw the king from his poſt, and to engage him in a diſadvantageous action. He ſometimes advanced, as if he meant to join the Ruſſians; and ſometimes his motions intimated a deſign to attack Schweidnitz. Theſe attempts failing, he turned off, and made a feint, as if he intended to fall upon Lower Sileſia, in hopes that he might at leaſt oblige the Pruſſian monarch to detach

detach and divide his forces. But Frederick continued immoveable in his poſt[a]. CHAP. XXXI. A. D. 1761.

WHILE theſe movements were making in Sileſia, the Ruſſians had again beſieged Colberg in Pomerania. A ſtrong fleet, conſiſting of forty ſail, blockaded it by ſea, whilſt a body of Ruſſian troops, under general Romanzow, formed the ſiege by land. The king of Pruſſia was extremely deſirous to prevent the Ruſſians from taking Colberg; and, therefore, reſolved to ſend general Platen, with a conſiderable detachment, to its relief. But he intended, at the ſame time, to employ that general in another ſervice. He ordered him to direct his march through Poland, and to deſtroy the Ruſſian magazines, which had been amaſſed on the frontiers of that kingdom, and from which their army in Sileſia drew its chief ſubſiſtence. General Platen accordingly deſtroyed three of the principal Ruſſian magazines. He alſo attacked a great convoy of their waggons, deſtroyed five hundred, and burnt the greateſt part of the proviſions that they contained; and moſt of the four thouſand men, who guarded this convoy, were either killed or taken priſoners. General Platen then proceeded on his march to Pomerania. The Ruſſians in Sileſia had juſt formed a junction with the Auſtrians, but the deſtruction of their magazines, and the conſequent ſcarcity of proviſions, induced them to ſeparate again from their Auſtrian

[a] Annual Regiſter, vol. IV. p. 32, 33.

allies,

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allies, to drop their deſigns upon Breſlaw, to repaſs the Oder, and to retire into Poland.

When the Ruſſians under general Butterlin retired out of Sileſia, the king of Pruſſia, who alſo found a want of proviſions in his camp near Schweidnitz, in order to be the more eaſily ſupplied, now approached nearer to the Oder. On making this movement, he alſo ventured to draft four thouſand men from the garriſon of Schweidnitz. He thought, that the preparations neceſſary to a ſiege, would give him ſufficient notice, and ſufficient time, to provide for the ſafety of that important place, from which he had removed only to a ſmall diſtance. But general Laudohn, who, through the whole campaign, had watched the motions of the king, with the moſt diligent and penetrating aſſiduity, and had hitherto found no part open and unguarded, now reſolved to attempt Schweidnitz, by a coup de main. On the firſt of October, at three in the morning, the aſſault began. An attack was made, at the ſame time, on all the four outworks, which the troops, ordered on this important enterprize, approached with ſo much precaution, that they were not perceived by the Pruſſian garriſon. They ſcaled all the four at the ſame time, and the troops which defended them had ſcarcely time to fire a few cannon ſhot [b]. On the ſide of the Auſtrians, not a gun was diſcharged; but in one of thoſe outworks a powder-magazine was blown

[b] Annual Regiſter, vol. IV. p. 34, 35.

up,

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by which many of the Auſtrians were killed. his magazine is ſaid to have been blown up purpoſe by a Pruſſian ſoldier belonging to e artillery, who, when he ſaw the Auſtrians ount the ramparts, exclaimed, "They ſhall not enter into the town:" and immediately t fire to the magazine, by which he blew up mſelf, and three hundred Auſtrians [c]. The ſiegers, however, carried the outworks, and mmediately prepared to aſſault the body of he place, which they entered by burſting pen the gates; and at day-break they found hemſelves maſters of the town. Lieutenant-general Zaſtrow, governor of the fortreſs, with bout three thouſand men, were made priſoners of war. The Auſtrians found here a great number of cannon, and a large quantity of proviſions; and their loſs, in this bold and fortunate undertaking, did not much exceed ſix hundred men.

THIS was a very unexpected blow to the king of Pruſſia. In anſwer to a letter concerning it from general Zaſtrow, who ſtated that the garriſon had made a vigorous defence, Frederick wrote back, 'You write to me, as "Francis I. wrote to his mother, after the "battle of Pavia, *We have loſt every thing, except our honour.* Nevertheleſs, I cannot comprehend what has happened, and I ſuſpend my judgment. The affair is very extraor-

[c] Vie de Frederick II. Roy de Pruſſe, tom. II. p. 146.

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"dinary [d]." The fact appears to have been that Schweidnitz was a place not ſo eaſy to be defended [K] againſt a ſudden and powerful attack, as it was apprehended to be by the king of Pruſſia, who is ſaid to have been leſs ſkilful in fortification, than in any other branch of military ſcience. And after he had drafted four thouſand men from the garriſon, a ſufficient number ſeem not to have been left for manning the works. General Zaſtrow, who appears to have been a brave and ap-

[d] Vie de Frederick II. Roy de Pruſſe, tom. II. p. 147.

[K] General Lloyd ſays, that the town of SCHWEIDNITZ 'lies in a fine plain, about three miles diſtance from the mountains which ſeparate Sileſia from Bohemia. It is rich and populous. Originally, when it firſt came into the power of the Pruſſians, during the preceding war, it was ſurrounded only by an old wall, with round towers, in the Gothic manner; but his majeſty, conſidering the advantageous ſituation of it, as well to facilitate any projects he might hereafter form againſt Bohemia, as to cover Sileſia, reſolved to fortify it. Accordingly, on the concluſion of that war, he ordered ſeveral redoubts, called ſtar redoubts, becauſe they reſemble a ſtar, to be built about it. Theſe were joined by a curtain; and, in the intervals, between the redoubts, were placed ſome ſmall lunettes, or half moons: the whole covered by a ditch, with a covered way palliſaded. Of all the ſpecies of works, uſed in fortification, the ſtarry redoubt is the worſt; becauſe, by the nature of its conſtruction, it can have no flank; and the re-entering angles take up ſo much of the ground within, that they cannot contain the number of men and artillery ſufficient to defend them; and are, moreover, expoſed to be enfiladed from one end to the other; ſo that it is impoſſible they ſhould make any conſiderable defence, when properly attacked.' Hiſt. of the War in Germany, vol. I. p. 111, 112.

able

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ble officer, repeatedly and earneſtly ſolicited, have his conduct examined by a court-martial; but this the king refuſed, though he cauſed the general to be impriſoned, and deprived him even of the command of his regiment. In the courſe of his campaigns ſeveral other inſtances occurred, in which Frederick caſhiered and diſhonoured reſpectable officers, without doing them the juſtice of committing a court-martial to inveſtigate their conduct [L].

[L] An intelligent and well informed writer ſays, 'The governor of Schweidnitz was ſent priſoner to Spandau, for having yielded to general Laudohn, although he had defended the place with great gallantry, and with a handful of men, comparatively ſpeaking, his garriſon not having been ſufficient to line the ramparts. The governor of Glatz was treated in a ſtill more ungenerous manner on a ſimilar occaſion. The king ordered him to be arreſted, and conveyed in a common waggon, eſcorted by two huſſars, beyond the outpoſts of his army, forbidding him, at the ſame time, on pain of death, ever to ſet foot again in his dominions. This officer, who was a native of Piedmont, had been originally a private ſoldier in the guards; and, after forty years ſervice, had riſen by his merit to the rank of major-general. His education, and the manner in which he had ſpent the greateſt part of his life, had probably not furniſhed him with enough of that ſort of knowledge, which is requiſite to make a good general, but he was certainly a brave and worthy officer, and the king treated him with too much ſeverity.'—'His Pruſſian majeſty, though a great man in ſo many other reſpects, is but a very indifferent engineer. There are hardly any of his ſtrong places capable of withſtanding a regular attack, made by troops that are experienced in this branch of the military art.' Obſervations on the Military Eſtabliſhment, &c. of the King of Pruſſia, 42, 43.

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EARLY in the courſe of the preſent year, the courts of Peterſburgh, Vienna, France, Sweden, and Poland, agreed ſeverally and jointly to offer propoſals towards renewing that negociation for peace, which had been broken off at the beginning of the year 1760. Declarations were accordingly made by thoſe courts, and delivered to the court of London; counter-declarations of a pacific nature were afterwards made by the kings of Great Britain and Pruſſia; and Augſburgh, as the ſituation moſt commodious for the powers at war, was appointed for the congreſs [e]. A ſeparate negociation was alſo afterwards ſet on foot, in order to ſettle the particular points in diſpute between the courts of Great Britain and France; and ſome propoſals were made tending to a ſeparate peace between thoſe courts. But none of thoſe overtures towards peace were productive of any immediate effect; and the propoſed congreſs at Augſburgh never was aſſembled.

IN conſequence of having made themſelves maſters of Schweidnitz, the Auſtrians obtained ſuch a footing in Sileſia, that they obliged the king of Pruſſia to retreat towards Breſlaw, and ſecured winter-quarters for themſelves in that province. General Platen alſo found it impracticable to afford to Colberg the aſſiſtance that was intended; he was attacked by a ſuperior body of Ruſſians, and obliged to retire to Stettin, having previouſly loſt part of his convoy;

[e] Annual Regiſter, vol. IV. p. 3, 4.

convoy; and after a ſiege of ſix months, Colberg ſurrendered to the Ruſſians, on the ſixteenth of December, the governor, colonel Heyde, and the garriſon, by whom the place had been very gallantly defended, being made priſoners of war [f]. But previouſly to this event, a treaty had been concluded between the king of Pruſſia and the Ottoman porte; and Frederick was not without hopes of being able to engage the Turks ſo much in his favour, as to find ſuch employment for the Ruſſians, as might prevent them from making any farther inroads into his dominions. CHAP. XXX. A. D. 1761.

Towards the cloſe of this year, the baron Wargorſch, a Sileſian nobleman, who came often to the Pruſſian camp, where he was well received by Frederick and his officers, is ſaid to have formed a ſcheme to deliver the king into the hands of the Auſtrians. He informed himſelf, with great exactneſs, of every thing that paſſed in the camp; and acquainted the Auſtrians, that the king rode out every day to reconnoitre, attended only by three or four perſons on horſeback; and he appointed with the Auſtrian general a day, and an hour, for carrying him off. The baron had choſen, for his aſſociate in this ſcheme, the curate of the village in which the king reſided. The curate uſed to carry the letters to the Auſtrian poſts.

[f] Entick's Hiſt. of the War, vol. IV. p. 143, 144. Annual Regiſter, vol. VI. p. 36.

The

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The affair was diſcovered by means of one of the baron's own ſervants, who, from circumſtances, or what he had over-heard, between his maſter and the curate, had collected ſome knowledge of the deſign. One day, juſt as the king was getting on horſeback, this ſervant of the baron came and threw himſelf at his majeſty's feet, preſenting him at the ſame time with a letter, which his maſter had ordered him to deliver to the curate. "Sire," ſaid he, "I believe this letter concerns your majeſty." Frederick opened the letter, and perceiving in it clear indications of a conſpiracy, he immediately ſent to reconnoitre if there was really an ambuſcade at the place mentioned; and the moment he was convinced of the fact, he diſpatched an officer, at the head of a detachment of cavalry, with orders to arreſt the baron, who, under pretence of buſineſs, was gone to ſleep at one of his ſeats, two miles from the king's quarters. The officer, who knew nothing of the king's motives for iſſuing this order, delivered it with much politeneſs to the baron, who received it with great ſeeming tranquillity and good humour, and deſired the officer to breakfaſt with him. Wargotſch acted his part with ſo much dexterity and eaſe, that the officer permitted him to retire for a few minutes into another apartment. From that apartment, he made his eſcape out of a window; and, having immediately mounted a horſe, he had got to a conſiderable diſtance, before the officer ſuſpected his eſcape. It

was

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was then impoſſible to overtake him. When he king was informed, on the officer's return, of his ill ſucceſs, he only ſaid to him, with great coolneſs, "Get back to your regiment; 'you are a very aukward fellow; and I ſhall 'certainly never again employ you in ſuch a 'commiſſion g."

On the ninth of October, 1761, Mr. William Pitt, ſecretary of ſtate to the king of Great Britain, reſigned his employment. By that event, which had been produced by court cabals, one of the moſt illuſtrious miniſters of ſtate that ever exiſted, was removed from his office, in order to make way for a man, as prime-miniſter, who was the perſonal favourite of the king, but who had never exhibited the leaſt trace of political ability. The war, however, continued to be carried on for ſome time, after the removal of Mr. Pitt from power; and ſome of the plans, which had been previouſly formed by that great ſtateſman, were ſucceſsfully proſecuted. But a peace was afterwards concluded at Paris, in 1763, extremely inadequate to the very brilliant ſucceſſes that had been obtained on the part of Great Britain; and in the negociation of which no proper regard was paid, either to the honour, or to the intereſt of the nation.

g Vie de Frederick II. Roy de Pruſſe, tom. II. p. 151, 152, 153. Obſervations on the Military Eſtabliſhment, &c. of the king of Pruſſia, &c. p. 15, 16, 17.

An

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An event took place early in the year 1762, which was highly favourable to the affairs of the king of Pruſſia. This was the death of Elizabeth, empreſs of Ruſſia, who was ſucceeded by her nephew, Peter III. The late empreſs had an inveterate perſonal diſlike to the king of Pruſſia, who by her death was delivered from one of his moſt formidable enemies; for her ſucceſſor entertained very different ſentiments reſpecting the Pruſſian monarch [M]. He even profeſſed the higheſt admiration for the great qualities of Frederick; and expreſſed at the ſame time the ſtrongeſt deſire that a general peace might immediately take place. He cauſed a memorial to be delivered to the Imperial, French, and Swediſh miniſters, reſident at Peterſburgh, on the twenty-third of February, 1762, in which he declared, that 'in order to the 'eſtabliſhment of peace, he was ready to

[M] The new emperor, ſome years before his acceſſion, as duke of Holſtein, had accepted of the Pruſſian order of the black eagle. In alluſion to this circumſtance, and to the large Ruſſian army which was employed againſt the king of Pruſſia at the time of Peter's acceſſion, Frederick introduced the following paſſage, in a letter to Mr. Mitchell, then the Britiſh miniſter at the Ruſſian court: 'Is not this (meaning the emperor) a very 'extraordinary knight, to feed 80,000 men at my expence? 'He is the only one of my knights that takes that liberty. If 'every knight of the garter did the ſame, poor England (Eng'land though it is) would be devoured by them. I beg you 'would endeavour to make my knight more tractable, and tell 'him it is againſt the inſtitutes of the order, for a knight to eat 'up his grand maſter.' Annual Regiſter, vol. V. p. 13.

'ſacrifice

'sacrifice all the conquests made by the arms 'of Russia in this war, in hopes that the allied 'courts would, on their parts, equally prefer 'the restoration of peace and tranquillity, to 'the advantages which they might expect from 'the continuance of the war: but which they 'could not obtain, but by a continuance of the 'effusion of human blood[b].' On the sixteenth of March following, a suspension of hostilities was concluded between the emperor of Russia and the king of Prussia: on the fifth of May, they entered into a treaty of peace and alliance; and Colberg, and the other places which had been taken by the Russians, were restored to the Prussian monarch. The new czar also agreed to join his troops to those of Frederick, in order to act against those powers who had been in alliance with Russia, but who were enemies to the king of Prussia. He even wore the Prussian uniform, which gave great offence to his subjects. He likewise exasperated the Russian soldiers, by speaking of them with contempt; and made enemies of the Russian clergy, by seizing great part of their revenues, and issuing an order, that they should no longer be distinguished by wearing their beards. Some of his troops were directed to proceed for Poland, to act under the orders of the king of Prussia [N]; but before they could afford him any

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[b] Annual Register, vol. V. p. 15.

[N] Some of the Russian troops joined the Prussian army, and were exercised by the king. It is said, that these new allies were

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any effectual aſſiſtance, a revolution took place in Ruſſia, by the depoſition of Peter III. and his death, which almoſt immediately followed. His wife and ſucceſſor, Catharine II. afterwards declared to the Pruſſian miniſter at the court of Peterſburgh, "That ſhe was reſolved "to obſerve inviolably, in all points, the "perpetual peace concluded under the prece-"ding reign [o]; but that ſhe had thought proper,

were very well treated. They were not ſuffered to want brandy; and the Coſſacks called the Pruſſians comrades, and crowded round the king, in order to take a view of him. Vie de Frederick II. Roy de Pruſſe, tom. II. p. 155.

[o] It is ſaid, that on the acceſſion of the new empreſs, it was intended to renew the war with the king of Pruſſia, who had correſponded with the late emperor, and was ſuſpected to have given him advice unfavourable to the empreſs. One of Peter's ſchemes was, to put the empreſs into a monaſtery; and this project, as well as others, he had communicated to the king of Pruſſia. The very next day after the czar's death, ſome of the Ruſſian ſenators examined, in the preſence, as we are informed, of the empreſs, the letters which he had received from the king of Pruſſia. But they were found to contain advice of a very different nature from what had been expected. In theſe letters the king adviſed the emperor, to ſtay in Ruſſia, and not to come into Germany; to look upon his ſubjects as his children, and to give them no juſt cauſe of complaint; to make no alterations in the fundamental laws of the country; to maintain the church, religion, and clergy of the empire, in the ſame ſtate in which he found them; and to treat the empreſs with moderation, and live with her as his wife. On the peruſal of theſe letters, the empreſs, we are told, burſt into tears of gratitude; and declared, that ſhe muſt either be a monſter, or bear to the king of Pruſſia as much affection, as ſhe had hatred to him before. Entick's Hiſt. of the War, vol. V. p. 345, 346. Annual Regiſter, vol. V. p. 22. Vie de Frederick II. Roi de Pruſſe, tom. II. p. 160.

"never-

"nevertheleſs, to order back to Ruſſia, by the "neareſt roads, all her troops in Sileſia, Pruſ- "ſia, and Pomerania[1]."

Soon after peace was concluded between the late emperor of Ruſſia and the Pruſſian monarch, a peace was alſo concluded between the king and the Swedes. But on the very next day after orders arrived at the Pruſſian camp, for the Ruſſians to ſeparate themſelves from the Pruſſian army, and to return into their own country, Frederick attacked the Auſtrian army under mareſchal Daun. As he could no longer derive any advantage from the arms of the Ruſſians, he endeavoured at leaſt to profit by their appearance in his camp; and to attack the Auſtrians before they could receive any news of the recall of the Ruſſian troops. The right wing of the Auſtrian army occupied the heights of Buckerſdorff in Sileſia; and Frederick drove them from that eminence, and from ſome neighbouring villages, in which they were advantageouſly poſted. He killed and wounded about a thouſand of the Auſtrians, and took one thouſand priſoners, together with fourteen pieces of cannon. This ſucceſs was not owing only to the ſpirit of the king's attack, but alſo to an apprehenſion of the Auſtrians, that the whole united army of the Pruſſians and Muſcovites was on the point of engaging them: ſo that Frederick made ſome uſe of his

[1] Hiſt. of Modern Europe, vol. V. p. 438.

new

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new allies, even in the very moment in which they were deſerting him[k]. This affair was indeed only an attack of poſts; but its conſequences were important; for the communication of the Imperialiſts with Schweidnitz was thereby entirely cut off. Frederick immediately prepared to beſiege that important place, and the trenches were opened on the eighteenth of July. But a very obſtinate defence was made by the Auſtrians; and Schweidnitz did not ſurrender to the king of Pruſſia till the ninth of October. The Auſtrians had two thouſand men killed in the ſiege; and the Pruſſians loſt upwards of three thouſand[l]. The remainder of the garriſon, which conſiſted of about eight thouſand men, were made priſoners of war; and a great part of theſe were drowned at the mouth of the Oder, on their paſſage to Konigſberg, which was deſtined for the place of their confinement.

WHILE the king of Pruſſia was thus ſucceſsful againſt the Auſtrians in Sileſia, his brother, who commanded in Saxony, was chiefly employed in acting on the defenſive. This, however, was not agreeable to his own inclinations: for prince Henry, who had great courage, and great military talents, was extremely deſirous of diſtinguiſhing himſelf. But the greateſt part of the army in Saxony, under his command,

[k] Annual Regiſter, ubi ſupra, p. 23.

[l] Entick's Hiſt. of the War, vol. V. p. 397.

conſiſted

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conſiſted of garriſon regiments, and free battalions, which were conſidered as the worſt troops in the Pruſſian ſervice. He had, however, contrived, from the beginning of the campaign, by the judicious choice of his poſts, to keep the Auſtrian general, the prince of Stolberg, at bay, though the latter was greatly ſuperior to him in the number of his troops. The king aſſured his brother, from time to time, that the moment it would be proper for him to act offenſively, he would ſend him a reinforcement of fifteen thouſand of his beſt troops. But Henry was piqued at being obliged to act ſo long on the defenſive; and at length manœuvred with ſo much ſkill, that the Auſtrian general ſuffered himſelf to be drawn into a ſituation, which the prince thought to be a very advantageous one for him, if a battle ſhould take place. Of this the prince acquainted the king, and requeſted an immediate reinforcement. The meſſenger returned, in twenty hours, with intelligence, that Frederick was advancing in perſon to his aſſiſtance, at the head of a conſiderable body of troops [m]. But prince Henry was unwilling to let ſlip ſo favourable an opportunity of attacking the enemy, and was probably deſirous of gaining a victory before the arrival of his brother; who, he knew, would carry off moſt of the honour, if he arrived in time. Without waiting,

[m] Obſervations on the Military Eſtabliſhment, &c. of the king of Pruſſia, p. 62, 63.

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ing, therefore, for the promiſed ſuccours, he attacked the united army of Imperialiſts and Auſtrians, commanded by the prince of Stolberg, near FREYBERG, on the twenty-ninth of October. The action commenced at day-break, and laſted till two in the afternoon, when the Auſtrians and Imperialiſts were totally defeated. Five thouſand priſoners were taken by the Pruſſians, together with thirty pieces of cannon; and the Auſtrians were obliged to abandon the town of Freyberg [n]. The king himſelf arrived the day after the battle; and though the victory, which prince Henry had obtained, tended to facilitate a peace, it is ſaid, that Frederick did not eaſily forgive his brother for fighting before his arrival, which he ſtated to have been an act of imprudence [o].

SOON after the battle of Freyberg, a ſtrong detachment of Pruſſian troops, under the command of general Kleiſt, made an irruption into Bohemia, where they raiſed contributions almoſt to the very gates of Prague, and deſtroyed ſeveral Auſtrian magazines, particularly at Saatz, which were valued at nine hundred thouſand florins [p]. About this time the king of Pruſſia artfully propoſed to the court of Vienna, a ſuſpenſion of arms between their reſpective armies in Saxony and Sileſia, during the win-

[n] Entick's Hiſt of the War, vol. V. p. 398. London Magazine, vol XXXI. p. 610.

[o] Obſervations, &c. ut ſupra.

[p] Entick, ubi ſupra, p. 399.

ter.

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ter. The propoſal was readily acceded to on the part of the empreſs-queen; after which the Auſtrian and Imperial troops retired into their winter-quarters, where they expected to enjoy ſome repoſe. But it ſoon appeared, that this impolitic and partial truce was extremely pernicious to the Auſtrian cauſe: for it had not provided for the ſecurity either of the immediate dominions of the houſe of Auſtria, or of thoſe members of the empire which were the moſt attached to its intereſts. Accordingly when the Auſtrian and Imperial troops had entered their winter-quarters, a large body of Pruſſian troops was aſſembled, under the command of general Kleiſt, who marched directly into Franconia, where they began immediately to raiſe heavy contributions, and compelled great numbers of men to enter into the Pruſſian ſervice. In the mean time, the Imperial and Auſtrian generals could neither aſſemble their troops, nor march to protect the empire, till they had received freſh orders from Vienna. The Pruſſian troops, therefore, ſpread themſelves, without oppoſition, over almoſt the whole circle of Franconia, where they raiſed great ſums of money. From the free city of Nuremberg alone they demanded three millions of crowns, part of which was paid, and they carried off ſome of the magiſtrates as hoſtages for the reſt [q]. Even the city of Ratiſbon itſelf began to apprehend a viſit; and there-

[q] London Mag. vol. XXXI. p. 679, 680.

fore,

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force, applied to baron Plotho, the Pruſſian miniſter at the diet, to know from him what they had to expect. The baron frankly told the magiſtrates, that if they refuſed to pay the contribution, which his maſter's troops ſhould demand, when they came to pay them a viſit, they muſt expect to be compelled by force. But, ſoon after the Pruſſians had entered Franconia, a declaration was made by the Pruſſian miniſter at the diet to the following purport: 'That as all his maſter's declarations to the 'ſtates of the empire had produced no effect, 'he was now reſolved to employ more effectual 'means to make them recall their troops from 'the Auſtrian army; and was accordingly 'marching three different corps into the em'pire; one of which had already entered Fran'conia, the ſecond was taking the route of 'Swabia, and the third would paſs through Ba'varia: that they would every where conduct 'themſelves according to the exigencies of war; 'but, as to the diet of the empire, he had or'ders to give aſſurances, that it ſhould not be 'in the leaſt diſturbed [r].'

About this time a body of Pruſſian troops had laid the greater part of the city of Egra, in Bohemia, in aſhes, by a ſhower of bombs and red hot bullets; and in the ſeveral predatory expeditions of the Pruſſian troops at this period,

[r] Entick's Hiſt. of the War, vol. V. p. 400.

they

they are ſuppoſed to have levied a ſum equivalent to a million ſterling. Many of the princes of the ſtates of Germany, therefore, found themſelves obliged to ſign a neutrality, in order to ſave their territories from farther ravages [s]; ſo that, in a ſhort time, all the troops, which compoſed the army of the empire, began their march for the countries of their reſpective ſovereigns [t].

On the third of November, 1762, preliminary articles of peace were ſigned at Fontainbleau between the kings of Great Britain, France, and Spain [p]; and as the court of Vienna was now deſerted by Ruſſia, and by

[s] Hiſt. of Modern Europe, vol. V. p. 439.

[t] Entick, ut ſupra, p. 401.

[p] The definitive treaty of peace between Great Britain, France, and Spain, was concluded at Paris on the tenth of February, 1763. It gave great offence to a large part of the Engliſh nation, who juſtly conſidered it as extremely inadequate to the very brilliant ſucceſſes that had been obtained by the arms of Great Britain. Count Algarotti, who, as a foreigner, may be regarded as an impartial judge, has taken ſome pains to ſhew, that the terms were much leſs advantageous to the Britiſh nation than they ought to have been. After ſtating ſuch terms as he thinks ought to have been inſiſted on, he ſays, 'If that noble 'ſtructure, the Temple of Peace, had been raiſed on ſuch 'foundations as theſe, the Engliſh might have ſpoken in a 'loftier tone at Verſailles, and could not have been ſaid to have 'made war like lions, and peace like lambs. At any rate it 'were to have been wiſhed, for the proſperity of England, that 'he who had ſo nobly conducted the war, ſhould alſo have been 'the perſon to adjuſt the peace.' Letters military and political, p. 163.

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the army of the empire, and the court of France was ſolicitous for the eſtabliſhment of peace, the empreſs-queen was induced, though reluctantly, to enter into a negociation with the king of Pruſſia. M. Hertzberg acted as Frederick's miniſter on this occaſion; and a treaty of peace was accordingly concluded between the empreſs-queen and the king of Pruſſia, at the caſtle of Hubertſbourgh, near Dreſden, on the fifteenth of February, 1763. A treaty of peace was alſo concluded between the Pruſſian monarch and the king of Poland, as elector of Saxony; and that unfortunate prince was again reſtored to his electoral dominions [q]. But no indemnification was made to him for the uſurpation of his dominions, or for the numerous depredations, and acts of violence, injuſtice, and cruelty, that had been committed upon his ſubjects.

By the treaty of HUBERTSBOURG, it was agreed, that there ſhould be henceforth an inviolable and perpetual peace, and ſincere union, and perfect friendſhip, between the apoſtolic empreſs-queen on the one part, and the king of Pruſſia on the other, their heirs

[q] The king of Poland arrived at his palace at Dreſden, accompanied by his prime miniſter, count Bruhl, on the thirtieth of April, 1763; but he did not long ſurvive his reſtoration to his dominions; for he died on the fifth of October following. He was ſucceeded, as elector of Saxony, by his eldeſt ſon, prince Frederick, who alſo died before the expiration of the year.

and

and ſucceſſors; that every thing that had paſſed, on either ſide, during the war, was to be buried in a general and eternal oblivion; that both parties ſhould renounce all claims on each others dominions or territories; in particular, that the empreſs-queen ſhould renounce all claim to thoſe which were ceded to the king of Pruſſia, by the preliminary articles of Breſlaw, and the treaty of Berlin; that all hoſtilities were entirely to ceaſe on both ſides, from the day of ſigning the treaty; that the empreſs-queen was to withdraw her troops from all the countries and ſtates of Germany, which were not under her dominion, within the ſpace of twenty-one days, after the exchange of the ratifications of the treaty; and within the ſame term ſhe was to cauſe to be evacuated, and reſtored to the king of Pruſſia, the county of Glatz, and, in general, all the ſtates, countries, towns, places, and fortreſſes, which his Pruſſian majeſty poſſeſſed before the war. The fortreſſes of Glatz, Weſel, and Gueldres, were to be reſtored to him in the ſame ſtate, with regard to the fortifications, in which they were, and with the artillery that was found in them, when they were taken. In the ſame ſpace of time, the king of Pruſſia was to reſtore all the places that he had taken, in Saxony, or elſewhere. It was alſo agreed, that all priſoners of war, of whatever rank, were to be immediately reſtored without ranſom, on payment of the debts contracted during their captivity; and

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the ſubjects of either party, forced to enter into the ſervice of the other, were to be diſcharged. The empreſs-queen was to return all the deeds, writings, and letters, belonging to the places reſtored to the king of Pruſſia; and he was to confirm the nominations made by the empreſs-queen during the war to vacant benefices, and to places in the exciſe, in the duchies of Cleves and Gueldres. The two powers likewiſe mutually guarantied the whole of each other's dominions, thoſe belonging to the empreſs-queen out of Germany excepted[u]. The king of Pruſſia at the ſame time agreed, by a ſecret article, to give his ſuffrage for electing the archduke Joſeph king of the Romans[v]; and accordingly that event took place the year following.

THUS ended, what is called in Germany, THE SEVEN YEARS WAR, between the king of Pruſſia, and the great and powerful princes, with whom he had engaged in hoſtilities. It was one of the moſt ſanguinary wars by which the world has been deſolated; and in which the ſtand that Frederick made againſt ſuch numerous armies, and ſuch a confederacy of potent princes, was a juſt ſubject of univerſal aſtoniſhment. But the military fame that he

[u] Annual Regiſter, vol. V. p. 247, 248, 249. Entick's Hiſt. of the War, vol. V. p. 401, 402, 403.

[v] Vie de Frederick II. Roy de Pruſſe, tom. II. p. 176. Mémoire Hiſtorique ſur la dernière année de la vie, &c. p. 25, 26.

thereby

thereby acquired, was but a trifling compenſation to his ſubjects, for the evils and calamities that they had ſuffered, and for the great effuſion of human blood which had been produced, by his ambition, and by that jealouſy, which his numerous ſtanding army, and his conduct towards his neighbours, had naturally inſpired. CHAP. XXXI. A. D. 1763.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXXII.

Frederick returns to Berlin, after an abſence of more than ſix years.—Donations to his ſubjects, who had ſuffered during the war.—Viſits his dominions in Pomerania, Lower Saxony, and Weſtphalia.—Rebuilds the towns and villages deſtroyed during the war, and encourages agriculture, manufactures, and commerce.—Receives an ambaſſador from Muſtapha III. emperor of the Turks.—Releaſe of baron Trenck from his confinement at Magdeburg.

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PEACE being now completely eſtabliſhed, by the treaty of Hubertſbourg, Frederick returned once more to his capital, from which he had been abſent more than ſix years. He arrived at his palace at Berlin, about nine in the evening, on the thirtieth of March, 1763. He was received by the princes of the blood, foreign miniſters, and principal nobility, who were aſſembled on the occaſion. Rejoicings and illuminations were continued in the city for ſeveral days after his arrival; and, on the fourth of April, at eight o'clock at night, he went through moſt of the ſtreets of Berlin, in an open chariot, accompanied by prince Ferdinand of Brunſwick, in order to view the illuminations, and the devices that were invented to celebrate his victories. On this occaſion, as well as at his arrival, he was every where

ſaluted

ſaluted with loud and general acclamations, of "Long live our king and father!" To theſe acclamations he replied, "Long live my dear "ſubjects, my beloved children [a]."

Soon after his arrival at Berlin, the king made ſome magnificent preſents to the queen and royal family [b]. He alſo made ſundry liberal donations for the relief of the poor, in thoſe parts of his dominions which had ſuffered, during the war, by the inroads of the enemy. To many of his diſbanded ſoldiers, he diſtributed lands; and he gave them the horſes of his artillery, to aſſiſt them in the cultivation of the lands that he had given them [c].

On the twentieth of May, the king ſet out on a journey to viſit his dominions in Pomerania, Lower Saxony, and Weſtphalia; and in part of his journey he was accompanied by prince Ferdinand of Brunſwick, with whom, on the fourth of June, he took a view of the ground on which the battle of Minden had been fought. He arrived at Weſel two days after, where he examined the fortifications and the citadel. He then proceeded to Crevelt, and from thence to Cleves; and, on the ſeventeenth of the month, he arrived at Hanover, where he was waited upon by the two

[a] Annual Regiſter, vol. VI. p. 73. Lond. Mag. vol. XXXII. p. 227.

[b] Gent. Mag. vol. XXXIII. p. 197.

[c] Annual Regiſter, vol. V. p. 63.

princes

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princes of Mecklenburg-Strelitz. From Hanover he proceeded to Brunſwick, and ſoon after returned to Berlin [d].

HAVING afterwards viſited the other parts of his dominions, Frederick applied himſelf to the reſtoration of his deſolated provinces, to the re-eſtabliſhment of his finances, and to the encouragement of agriculture. He began to rebuild the towns and villages that had been deſtroyed during the war; and he gave conſiderable ſums to many of his nobility, in order to enable them to pay their debts, and to cultivate their waſte lands; and of this he himſelf gave them an example in the royal demeſnes, by cutting down woods, draining marſhes, and making various improvements. He alſo eſtabliſhed new manufactures, gave directions for making navigable canals, and by ſundry methods endeavoured to extend the commerce of his ſubjects. But notwithſtanding the regard which he paid at this period to the arts of peace, his army ſtill continued to be a prime object of his attention. He ſo completely recruited his regiments, that, after the peace of Hubertſbourg, his army amounted to two hundred thouſand men; and this formidable force he continued conſtantly to maintain [e].

[d] Gent. Mag. vol. XXXIII. p. 309. Lond. Mag. vol. XXXII. p. 340.

[e] Memoire Hiſtorique ſur la derniere annee de la vie de Frederick II. Roi de Pruſſe, par le comte de Hertzberg, p. 21, 22.

IN

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In the courſe of this year, Frederick concluded a treaty of alliance with the empreſs of Ruſſia; and, on the ninth of November, Achmet Effendi, ambaſſador from Muſtapha III. emperor of the Turks, to the king of Pruſſia, made his public entry into Berlin. He was attended by a troop of Janiſſaries, and a numerous retinue; and brought a number of fine horſes, and other preſents, for the king. One deſign of his embaſſy was, to compliment the Pruſſian monarch, upon the glorious peace that he had lately concluded at Hubertſbourg[t]. When Frederick received the Turkiſh ambaſſador [R], he was dreſſed with unuſual magnificence. It was ſaid, that the diamond buttons on his cloaths, and the hat which he wore on this occaſion, were valued at more than five

[t] Vie de Frederick II. Roy de Pruſſe, tom. II. p. 177, 178.

[R] Achmet Effendi attended a meeting of the academy of ſciences at Berlin, on which occaſion M. Formey, the perpetual ſecretary, made a ſpeech, of which, it is ſaid, the Turk underſtood nothing. At the ſame time, a new-invented machine was exhibited to the academy. As the members preſſed round the table, on which the machine was placed, the ambaſſador found himſelf too much crowded. He, therefore, puſhed aſide thoſe who ſtood next him, and jumped upon the table, on which he ſeated himſelf in the oriental manner, that he might examine the machine more at his eaſe. M. Formey had much difficulty to preſerve his gravity; and the members of the academy left off examining the machine, and fixed their attention wholly upon the ambaſſador. Vie de Frederick II. Roy de Pruſſe, tom. II. p. 285.

hundred

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hundred thouſand pounds [r]. This ſeems to have been the laſt time of his appearing with ſuch ſplendour: for, in general, after his ſeven years war, he was more frugal with reſpect to cloaths, than he had been in the former part of his life. From that period, except on this occaſion, he confined himſelf, on great public days, to a ſuit of blue velvet, embroidered with ſilver, and which was never worn but at ſuch times of court magnificence.

On the twenty-fourth of December 1763, baron Trenck, who had been impriſoned at Magdeburg for more than nine years, and with ſuch circumſtances of unfeeling cruelty, as will ever reflect extreme diſhonour on the king of Pruſſia, was releaſed from his confinement. This gentleman, who was a native of Konigſberg, in Pruſſia, and deſcended from one of the moſt antient and reſpectable families in that country, had received a commiſſion in the Pruſſian horſe guards, when he was only eighteen years of age, and was treated by the king with great favour and diſtinction [s]. He had

[r] London Mag. vol. XXXII. p 620.

[s] Baron Trenck was ſent to the univerſity of Konigſberg at the age of thirteen, and made a rapid progreſs in literature. But he had ſtrong paſſions, and had fought three duels when he was about ſixteen. Duelling at this time was very common in that univerſity. In his account of his own life, he informs us, that, at that time, 'the univerſity of Konigſberg was ſtill highly 'privileged To ſend a challenge was held honourable; and 'this was not only permitted, but would have been difficult to 'prevent, conſidering the great number of proud, hot-headed, and 'turbulent

had been educated at the univerſity of Konigſ- CHAP. XXXII. A. D. 1763.
berg, where he gave early evidences of genius, and

'turbulent young nobility from Livonia, Courland, Sweden, 'Denmark, and Poland, who came thither to ſtudy, and of 'whom there were more than five hundred. This brought the 'univerſity into diſrepute, and the abuſe has been endeavoured to 'be remodied.'

In 1742, baron Lottum, who was related to Trenck's mother, and who happened then to be at Konigſberg, perſuaded him to enter into the army, telling him, that he would "find much better opportunities of ſending challenges, in the army, than in "the univerſity." He very readily complied with the propoſal, and ſet out for Potſdam a few days after. 'On the morrow after 'my arrival,' ſays the baron, 'I was preſented to the king, as, 'indeed, I had before been, in the year 1740, with the character of being, then, one of the moſt hopeful youths of the uni-'verſity. My reception was moſt flattering. The juſtneſs of my 'replies to the queſtions he put, my height, figure, and confi-'dence pleaſed him; and I ſoon obtained permiſſion to enter as 'a cadet in his body guards, with a promiſe of quick preferment.' —'I had ſcarcely been ſix weeks a cadet, before the king took 'me aſide, one day, after the parade, and, having examined me 'near half an hour, on various ſubjects, commanded me to come 'and ſpeak to him on the morrow.

'His intention was, to find whether the accounts, that had 'been given him of my memory, had not been exaggerated; and, 'that he might be convinced, he firſt gave me the names of fifty 'ſoldiers to learn by rote, which I did in five minutes. He next 'repeated the ſubjects of two letters, which I immediately com-'poſed in French and Latin; the one I wrote, the other I dic-'tated. He next ordered me to trace, with promptitude, a land-'ſcape from nature, which I executed with equal ſucceſs; and 'he then gave me a cornet's commiſſion in his body guards.

'Each mark of bounty, from the monarch, increaſed an ar-'dour already great, inſpired me with gratitude, and the firſt of 'my wiſhes was, to devote my whole life to the ſervice of my 'king and country. He ſpoke to me, as a ſovereign ſhould ſpeak,

'like

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and of courage; but his paſſions were ſomewhat impetuous, and he was extremely high-ſpirited. He found the ſervice in which he was employed, in the king's body guard, attended with much fatigue [T]; but he ſtill continued the

'like a father, like one who knew well how to eſtimate the gifts 'beſtowed on me by nature; and perceiving, or rather feeling, 'how much he might expect from me, became at once my in-'ſtructor, and my friend. Thus did I remain a cadet only ſix 'weeks, and few Pruſſians can vaunt, under the reign of Frede-'rick, of equal good fortune. The king not only preſented me 'with a commiſſion, but equipped me ſplendidly for the ſervice. 'Thus did I ſuddenly find myſelf a courtier, and an officer in the 'fineſt, braveſt, and beſt taught corps in Europe' Life of Baron Frederick Trenck, tranſlated from the German by Mr. Holcroft, vol. I. p. 12—21.

[T] Of Frederick's horſe guards, and the fatigues that they underwent even in time of peace, baron Trenck gives the following account: 'The body guards formed, at this time, a model 'and ſchool for the Pruſſian cavalry: it conſiſted of one ſingle 'ſquadron of men, ſelected from the whole army, whoſe uniform 'was the moſt ſplendid in all Europe Two thouſand rix-'dollars were neceſſary to equip an officer: the cuiraſs was wholly 'plated with ſilver; and the horſe furniture and accoutrements 'alone coſt four hundred rix-dollars. This ſquadron only con-'ſiſted of ſix officers, and a hundred and forty-four men; but 'there were always fifty or ſixty ſupernumeraries, and as many 'horſes; for the king incorporated all the handſome men he 'found in theſe guards. The officers were the beſt taught of 'any the army contained. The king himſelf formed them; and 'afterwards ſent them to inſtruct the cavalry in the manœuvres 'they had learnt. Their riſe was rapid, if they behaved well; 'but they were broken for the leaſt fault, and puniſhed by being 'ſent to garriſon regiments. It was, likewiſe, neceſſary that 'they ſhould be tolerably rich, as well as poſſeſs ſuch talents, 'as might be ſucceſsfully employed, both at court, and in the 'army.

'There

the purſuits of learning, and was introduced to the king's literary friends [v]. CHAP. XXXII. A. D. 1763.

WHEN

'There are no ſoldiers in the world, who undergo ſo much as this body guard: for, during the time I was in the ſervice of Frederick, I often had not eight hours ſleep in eight days. Exerciſe began at four in the morning; and experiments were made of all the alterations, which the king meant to introduce in his cavalry. Ditches of three, four, five, ſix feet, and ſtill wider, were leaped, till that ſome one broke his neck; hedges, in like manner, were freed, and the horſe ran careers, meeting each other full ſpeed, in a kind of liſts of more than half a league in length. We had often, in theſe our exerciſes, ſeveral men and horſes killed or wounded.

'It happened, more frequently than otherwiſe, that the ſame experiments were repeated after dinner with freſh horſes; and it was not uncommon, at Potſdam, to hear the alarm ſounded twice in a night. The horſes ſtood in the king's ſtables; and whoever had not dreſſed, armed himſelf, ſaddled his horſe, mounted, and appeared before the palace in eight minutes, was put under arreſt for fourteen days. Scarcely were the eyes cloſed, before the trumpet again ſounded, to accuſtom youth to vigilance. I loſt, in one year, three horſes, which had either broken their legs, in leaping ditches, or died of fatigue. I cannot give a ſtronger picture of this ſervice, than by ſaying, that the body guard loſt more men and horſes in one year's peace, than, during the following year, they did in two battles.

'We had, at this time, three ſtations. Our ſervice, during winter, was at Berlin; where we attended the opera, and all public feſtivals. In the ſpring, we were exerciſed at Charlottenburgh; and at Potſdam, or wherever the king went, during the ſummer. The ſix officers of the guard dined with the king; and, on gala days, with the queen. It may be preſumed, that there was not, at this time, on earth, a better ſchool to form an officer, and a man of the world, than was the court of Berlin.' Life, tranſlated by Mr. Holcroft, ut ſupra, p. 15—19.

[v] 'Frederick,' ſays the Baron, 'commanded me to viſit the literati, whom he had invited to his court. MAUPERTUIS, 'JORDAN,

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WHEN the princeſs Ulrica married the prince-royal of Sweden, baron Trenck eſcorted her as far as Stettin; and on this occaſion an amour commenced between him and the princeſs Amelia, another ſiſter of the king [u].

'JORDAN, LA METTRIE, and POLLNITZ, were all my 'acquaintance. My days were employed in the duties of an of-'ficer, and my nights in acquiring knowledge. Pollnitz was my 'guide, and the friend of my heart. My happineſs was well 'worthy being envied. In 1743, I was five feet eleven inches 'in height; and Nature had endowed me with every requiſite to 'pleaſe. I lived, as I vainly imagined, without exciting enmity 'or malice; and my mind was wholly occupied by the deſire of 'acquiring well founded fame.' Life, ut ſupra, p. 22.

[u] The baron ſpeaking of this princeſs, though without mentioning her name, ſays, 'To her converſation, to her prudence, 'to the power by which ſhe rivetted my affections wholly to her-'ſelf, am I indebted for the improvement and poliſhing of my 'bodily and mental qualities. She never deſpiſed, betrayed, or 'abandoned me, even in the deepeſt of my diſtreſs.' Life, ut ſupra, p. 25. He afterwards ſays, 'I lived, at this time, perfectly 'happy at Berlin, and highly eſteemed. The king teſtified his 'approbation at every opportunity; my miſtreſs ſupplied me with 'more money than I could expend; and I was preſently, the 'beſt equipped, and made the greateſt figure of any officer in 'the whole corps. The ſtile in which I lived was remarked; 'for I had only received from my father's heritage the eſtate of 'Great Scarlach, the rent of which was eight hundred dollars a 'year; which was far from ſufficient to ſupply my then expences. 'My amour, in the mean time, remained a ſecret from my beſt 'and moſt intimate friends. Twice was my abſence from Potſ-'dam and Charlottenburgh diſcovered, and I was put under ar-'reſt; but the king ſeemed ſatisfied with the excuſes I made, un-'der pretext of having been hunting, and ſmiled as he granted 'my pardon. Never did the days of youth glide away, with more 'apparent ſucceſs, and pleaſure, than during theſe my firſt years 'at Berlin.' Ibid. p. 26, 27.

From

From this lady he often received conſiderable preſents, which enabled him to live with more ſplendor than his own fortune would have permitted. He attended the king, with the reſt of the guards, into Sileſia and Bohemia, in the campaigns of 1744 and 1745; was made adjutant to the king, and was preſent in the battles of Hohen Friedberg [w] and Sohr, in the former of which he was wounded. But it happened unfortunately for baron Trenck, that he was firſt couſin to another baron Trenck, who was a famous partiſan in the Auſtrian ſervice; and this relationſhip proved to him a ſource of great calamity. The Auſtrian Trenck, who had no children, and was very wealthy, had written to the mother of the Pruſſian Trenck, that he intended to make her ſon his heir. The Auſtrian Trenck alſo ſent back two horſes belonging to his Pruſſian couſin, which had been taken by the huſſars under his command. Theſe circumſtances excited in the king ſome ſuſpicion of baron Trenck's fidelity; and theſe ſuſpicions were artfully increaſed by an officer of the guards, who had a perſonal animoſity againſt the baron, and who did all he could to injure him. At length, when the Pruſſian troops were in Bohemia, a letter came to the baron, written as from his Auſtrian couſin, and containing ſome overtures

[w] The baron ſays, that when this battle was about to commence, the king ſaid to his guards, "Prove to-day, my children, that you are my body-guard, and give no Saxon quarter." Life, ut ſupra, p. 58.

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to him to enter into the Auſtrian ſervice. This letter he ſuppoſes to have been forged; but he communicated it very frankly to his brother officers; and, as he wrote no anſwer to it, expected from it no ill conſequences. Such uſe, however, was made of it, in order to incenſe the king againſt him, that he was arreſted, deprived of his commiſſion, and impriſoned in the fortreſs of Glatz. He wrote to the king, ſoliciting to be tried by a court martial, and declaring, that he deſired no favour, if any crime could be proved againſt him: but no anſwer was returned. The princeſs Amelia continued to correſpond with him, and expreſſed her confidence in his innocence. She alſo condemned the precipitate anger, and unjuſt ſuſpicions, of the king her brother, and ſent the baron a thouſand ducats. After peace was concluded, finding that his impriſonment was ſtill continued, he grew impatient of his confinement [x], and made ſeveral deſperate [y], but

[x] He learned afterwards, that, till his attempts to eſcape, the king had condemned him only to a year's impriſonment; but it was given out at Glatz, that he was to be impriſoned for life.

[y] Of one of theſe unſucceſsful, but deſperate attempts, which was made eight days after a former of the ſame nature, he has given himſelf the following account. 'Major Doo came to 'viſit me, accompanied by an officer of the guard, and an adju-'tant. After examining every corner of my chamber, he ad-'dreſſed me, taxing me with a ſecond crime in endeavouring to 'obtain my liberty; adding, this muſt, certainly, increaſe the 'anger of the king. My blood boiled at the word crime. He 'talked of patience. I aſked, how long the king had condemned 'me to impriſonment? He anſwered, a traitor to his country,

'who

but unſucceſsful efforts to eſcape. He at length, however, found means to effectuate his eſcape, when he had been confined at Glatz ſeventeen months, being aſſiſted and accompanied by an officer, who was diſcontented with his ſituation. They encountered great dangers, and great hardſhips; and baron Trenck afterwards entered into the Ruſſian ſervice, in which he became a captain of dragoons. Whilſt he was in this ſituation, being at Dantzick, a ſcheme was formed by the Pruſſian reſident in that city, and ſome Pruſſian officers in the recruiting ſer-

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'who has correſponded with the enemy, cannot be condemned 'for a certain time; but muſt depend, for grace and pardon, 'upon the king. At that inſtant I ſnatched his ſword from his 'ſide, on which my eyes had ſome time been fixed, ſprang out 'of the door, threw the centinel from the top to the bottom of 'the ſtairs, paſſed the guard, attacked them ſword in hand, 'threw them ſuddenly into ſurprize by the manner in which I laid 'about me, wounded four men, made way through the reſt, 'ſprang over the breaſt-work of the ramparts, and, with my 'ſword in my hand, immediately leaped this aſtoniſhing height, 'without receiving the leaſt injury. I leaped the ſecond wall, 'with equal ſafety and good fortune. None of their arms were 'loaded: no one durſt leap after me; and, in order to purſue, 'they muſt go round through the town and the gate of the cita-'del, ſo that I had the ſtart full half an hour. A ſentinel, how-'ever, in a narrow paſſage, endeavoured to oppoſe my flight; 'but I parried his fixed bayonet, and wounded him in the face. 'A ſecond centinel, meantime, came from the outworks, to 'ſeize me behind, and I, to avoid him, made a ſpring at the 'paliſades: there I was, unluckily, caught by the foot, and re-'ceived a bayonet wound in my upper lip. Thus entangled, 'they beat me with the butt end of their muſquets, and dragged 'me back to priſon, while I ſtruggled and defended myſelf like 'a man grown deſperate.' Life, p. 66—99.

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vice, to ſeize him, and convey him forcibly into the Pruſſian territories. But he having received intimation of the plot, found means completely to defeat it, and treated ſome of the officers concerned in it with ſuch indignity, that this affair greatly increaſed the animoſity of the king of Pruſſia againſt him. Trenck was afterwards advantageouſly introduced at the court of Peterſburgh, by the friendſhip of general Bernes, miniſter to that court from the court of Vienna, and lord Hyndford, miniſter from the court of Great Britain, both of whom were perſonally acquainted with the baron, when he was in high favour at Berlin. He had ſundry intrigues at Peterſburgh; and, among others, with the counteſs Beſtucheff, wife to the prime-miniſter [z].

The king of Pruſſia ſuſpected, that Trenck's influence at Peterſburgh was employed to his diſadvantage; and ſome diſhonourable arts were employed by the Pruſſian miniſter to ruin him at that court. Theſe arts were not ſucceſsful; but he afterwards quitted Ruſſia, and entered into the Auſtrian ſervice. In 1754, when he was a captain of Auſtrian cavalry, he happened to be at Dantzick, where the king of Pruſſia's agents, authorized by two of the

[z] The baron ſeems not to have improved his morals, or his principles, by his converſations with La Mettrie, Pollnitz, and others of Frederick's favourites at Berlin; but though he was licentious with regard to women, he appears, in other reſpects, to have had a high ſenſe of integrity and honour.

magiſtrates

magiſtrates of Dantzick, who were attended by twenty grenadiers, ſeized him in bed, and conveyed him to the city priſon, from whence he was ſoon after ſent to Berlin [A]. He was afterwards removed to the citadel of Magdeburg, where he was confined in a dungeon [B], and allowed nothing but a pound and a half of ammunition bread per day, and a jug of water [C]. He was not at this time put in irons; but

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[A] It appears, that a ſhort time before this, intimations had been given at Berlin, by ſome of Trenck's enemies, that he had formed dangerous deſigns againſt the king's own perſon.

[B] He gives the following deſcription of his firſt dungeon: 'My dungeon was in a caſement, the fore part of which, ſix feet 'wide, and ten feet long, was divided by a party wall. In the 'inner wall were two doors, and a third at the entrance of the 'caſemate itſelf. The window, in the ſeven feet thick wall, was 'ſo ſituated that, though I had light, I could ſee neither heaven 'or earth: I could only ſee the roof of the magazine. Within 'and without this window were iron bars; and, in the ſpace be'tween, an iron grating, ſo cloſe, and ſo ſituated, by the riſing 'of the walls, that it was impoſſible I ſhould ſee any perſon with'in the priſon, or that any perſon ſhould ſee me. On the outſide 'was a wooden paliſadoe, ſix feet from the wall, by which the 'ſentinels were prevented from conveying any thing to me. I 'had a matraſs, and a bedſtead, but which was immoveably 'ironed to the floor, ſo that it was impoſſible I ſhould drag it, 'and ſtand up to the window.' Life, ut ſupra, vol. II. p. 1, 2.

[C] At this period of his confinement, he ſuffered more from hunger, than from any other cauſe. 'From my youth,' ſays he, 'I had always a good appetite;—and it is impoſſible that I 'ſhould deſcribe the exceſs of tortures that, during eleven 'months, I felt from ravenous hunger. I could every day have 'eaſily devoured ſix pounds of bread; and every twenty-four 'hours, after having received and ſwallowed my ſmall portion,

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but having made ſome extraordinary efforts to eſcape, and theſe efforts being diſcovered, the king, when he came to a review at Magdeburg, went and viſited a fort there called the Star-fort, where he commanded a new cell to be made for the confinement of Trenck, "preſcribing "himſelf," as the baron ſays, "the kind of irons "by which he was to be ſecured[f]."

Of his ſecond dungeon, to which he was removed as ſoon as it was ready, he has given the following deſcription: 'In breadth it was 'about eight feet; in length ten.'—'In a cor-'ner was a ſeat, four bricks broad, on which I 'might ſit, and recline againſt the wall. Op-'poſite the ring to which I was faſtened, the 'light was admitted through a ſemicircular 'aperture, one foot high, and two in diame-'ter. This aperture aſcended to the centre of 'the wall, which was ſix feet thick, and at this 'central part was a cloſe iron grating, from

'I continued as hungry as before I began, yet muſt wait another 'twenty-four hours for a new morſel. How willingly would I 'have ſigned a bill of exchange for a thouſand ducats, on my 'property at Vienna, only to have ſatisfied my hunger on dry 'bread.'—'Some have ſuppoſed, that to eat little might become 'habitual; but I have experienced the contrary. My hunger 'increaſed every day; and, of all the trials of fortitude my whole 'life has afforded, this, of eleven months, was the moſt bitter.'—'Daily, about noon, once in twenty-four hours, my pittance of 'bread and water was brought. The keys of all the doors were 'kept by the governor: the inner door was not opened, but my 'bread and water were put through an aperture.' Life, ut ſu-'pra, vol. II. p. 3—6.

[f] Life, tranſlated by Mr. Holcroft, vol. II. p. 27,

'which

'which, outward, the aperture deſcended, and its two extremities were again ſecured by ſtrong iron bars. My dungeon was built in the ditch of the fortification, and the aperture, by which the light entered, was ſo covered by the wall of the rampart, that, inſtead of finding immediate paſſage, the light only gained admiſſion by reflexion. - This, conſidering the ſmallneſs of the aperture, and the impediments of grating and iron bars, muſt needs make the obſcurity great, yet my eyes, in time, became ſo accuſtomed to this glimmering, that I could ſee a mouſe run. In winter, however, when the ſun did not ſhine into the ditch, it was eternal night with me. Between the bars and the grating was a glaſs window, with a ſmall central caſement, which might be opened to admit air.—The name of TRENCK was inſcribed upon the wall, and under my feet was a tomb-ſtone, with the name of TRENCK alſo cut on it, and carved with a death's head. The doors to my dungeon were double, of oak, two inches thick: without theſe was an open ſpace, or front cell, in which was a window, and this ſpace was likewiſe ſhut in by double doors. The ditch, in which this dreadful den was built, was incloſed on both ſides by paliſadoes, twelve feet high, the key of the door of which was entruſted to the officer of the guard, it being the king's intention to prevent all poſſibility of ſpeech, or communication with the ſentinels [g].'

[g] Life, p. 34, 35, 36.

HE

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He has alſo given the following account of the manner in which he was ironed in this new 'dungeon. Enormous chains were fixed to 'my ancle at one end, and at the other to a 'ring which was incorporated in the wall. This 'ring was three feet from the ground, and only 'allowed me to move about two or three feet 'to the right and left. They next rivetted 'another huge iron ring, of a hand's breadth, 'round my naked body, to which hung a chain, 'fixed into an iron bar, as thick as a man's 'arm. This bar was two feet in length, and 'at each end of it was a handcuff [h].'—'The only motion I had the power to make, was 'that of jumping upward, or ſwinging my 'arms, to procure myſelf warmth. When 'more accuſtomed to theſe fetters [D], I was 'likewiſe capable of moving from ſide to ſide, 'but this pained my ſhin-bones [i].'

Speaking of the new dungeon to which he was now removed, and of the time of his firſt

[h] Life, p. 31, 32.

[D] In the year 1756, an iron collar was added to his other fetters; and he ſays, that 'the chains that deſcended from the 'neck-collar were obliged to be ſupported firſt with one hand, and 'then with the other; for, if thrown behind, they would have 'ſtrangled me, and, if hanging forward, occaſioned moſt exceſ-'ſive head-achs.' Ib. p. 109, 110. Among other barbarities which were exerciſed towards him, one was, ordering the ſentinels to call him every quarter of an hour, and thereby to prevent ſleeping for any long time together. This inhuman practice was continued four years. Ibid. p. 144.

[i] Ibid p. 36, 37.

entrance

entrance into it, he alſo ſays, 'The cell had 'been finiſhed with lime and plaſter but eleven 'days, and every body ſuppoſed it would be 'impoſſible, that I ſhould exiſt in theſe damps 'above a fortnight. I remained ſix months, 'continually immerſed in water, that trickled 'upon me from the thick arches under which I 'was; and I can ſafely affirm, that, for the 'firſt three months, I was never dry; yet did 'I continue in health. I was viſited daily at 'noon, after relieving guard, and the doors 'were then obliged to be left open for ſome 'minutes, otherwiſe the dampneſs of the air put 'out their candles.

'This was my ſituation, and here I ſat, deſ-'titute of friend, helpleſsly wretched, preyed 'on by all the torture of thought, that con-'tinually ſuggeſted the moſt gloomy, the moſt 'dreadful of images. My heart was not yet 'wholly turned to ſtone, my fortitude was 'ſunken to deſpondency, my dungeon was the 'very cave of deſpair; yet was my arm re-'ſtrained, yet was this exceſs of miſery endur-'ed. How then may hope be wholly eradicated 'from the heart of man! My fortitude, after 'ſome time, began to revive: I glowed with 'the deſire of convincing the world, that I was 'capable of ſuffering what man had never 'ſuffered before; perhaps of, at laſt, emer-'ging from this load of wretchedneſs, trium-'phant over my enemies [k].'

[k] Life, p. 37, 38.

After

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AFTER his confinement in his new dungeon, the baron was allowed as much bread as he could eat; and notwithſtanding his fetters, he continued to make a variety of aſtoniſhing attempts to effectuate his eſcape [E], and ſome of which were nearly ſucceſsful. When it was diſcovered, that he had found means even to diſencumber himſelf of his chains, a large iron collar was put about his neck, and connected with the chains at his feet by additional heavy links [F]. The whole of his fetters amounted to ſixty-eight pounds weight. Though none of his own efforts to obtain his liberty were finally ſucceſsful, they yet greatly contributed to the preſervation both of his health

[E] Of theſe different and extraordinary efforts to obtain his liberty, he has given a particular account in the narrative of his life.

[F] In another part of the narrative of his life, he alſo gives an account of his dreſs. 'My hands being fixed,' ſays he, 'and 'kept aſunder, by an iron bar, and my feet chained to the wall, I 'could neither put on ſhirt nor ſtockings in the uſual mode; the 'ſhirt was therefore tied, and changed once a fortnight; the 'coarſe ammunition ſtockings were buttoned on the ſides; a blue 'garment, of ſoldier's cloth, was likewiſe tied round me, and I 'had a pair of ſlippers for my feet. The ſhirt was of the army 'linen; and when I contemplated myſelf in this dreſs of a ma'lefactor, chained thus to the wall, in ſuch a dungeon, vainly 'imploring mercy or juſtice, my conſcience void of reproach, my 'heart of guilt; when I reflected on my former ſplendour in 'Berlin and Moſcow, and compared it with this ſad, this dread'ful reverſe of deſtiny, I was ſunk in grief, or rouſed to indigna'tion, that might have hurried the greateſt hero, or philoſopher, 'to madneſs or deſpair. I felt what can only be imagined by 'him, who has ſuffered like me, after having, like me, flouriſhed, 'if ſuch can be found.' Ibid. p. 60, 61.

and

and ſpirits [G]. He did not gain his liberty, CHAP. XXXII. A. D. 1763. till more than nine months after the peace of Hubertſbourg,

[G] 'Theſe bodily labours,' he ſays, 'theſe continued inventions, and projected plans, to obtain my freedom, preſerved my health. Who would ſuppoſe that a man, fettered as I was, could find means of exerciſing himſelf? By ſwinging my arms, acting with the upper part of my body, and leaping upward, I frequently put myſelf into a ſtrong perſpiration. After thus wearying myſelf, I ſlept ſoundly, and often thought how many generals, obliged to ſupport all the inclemencies of weather, and all the dangers of the field; how many of thoſe who had plunged me into this den of miſery, would have been moſt glad, could they, like me, have ſlept with a quiet conſcience.' Life, vol. II. p. 61, 62.

In another place in the narrative of his life, many parts of which are written with great animation, he ſays, 'I had read much; had lived in, and ſeen, much of the world; vacuity of thought, therefore, I was little troubled with. The former tranſactions of my life, what had happened, and the remembrance of the perſons I had known, I revolved ſo often in my mind, that they became as familiar and connected, as if the events had each been written in the order it occurred. Habit made this mental exerciſe ſo perfect to me, that I could compoſe ſpeeches, fables, odes, ſatires, all which I repeated aloud, and had ſo ſtored my memory with them, that I was enabled, after I had obtained my freedom, to commit to writing two volumes of theſe my priſon labours. Accuſtomed to this exerciſe, days, that would otherwiſe have been days of miſery, appeared but as a moment.—For this I am to thank the induſtrious acquirements of my youth.—Riches, honours, the favours of fortune, may be ſhowered by monarchs upon the moſt worthleſs; but monarchs can give and take, ſay and unſay, raiſe and pull down. Monarchs, however, can neither give wiſdom nor virtue. Arbitrary power itſelf, here, and before theſe, is foiled. How wiſely has Providence ordained, that the endowments of induſtry, learning, and ſcience, given by ourſelves, cannot be taken from us; while, on the contrary, what others beſtow is a fantaſtical dream, from which any accident may awaken

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Hubertſbourg, when he obtained his freedom, in conſequence of the application of the Auſtrian ambaſſador [H], having then been impriſoned at Magdeburg more than nine years [I]. He

'awaken us. The wrath of Frederick could deſtroy legions, and 'defeat armies; but it could not take from me the ſenſe of ho-'nour, of innocence, and their ſweet concomitant, peace of 'mind; and could not deprive me of fortitude and magnanimity. 'I deſied his power, reſted on the juſtice of my cauſe, found in 'myſelf expedients wherewith to oppoſe him, was at length 'crowned with conqueſt, and came forth, to the world, the 'martyr of ſuffering virtue.' Ibid. p. 72, 73, 74.

[H] Several applications were made by the Auſtrian miniſter to the king of Pruſſia, after the peace of Hubertſbourgh, to obtain the baron's liberty; but the applications were not complied with, and ſeem not to have been made with much earneſtneſs. At laſt, on a gala-day, the king happening to be in an extraordinary good humour, the queen of Pruſſia, the princeſs Amelia, and the prince-royal, now the reigning king, told the Auſtrian miniſter, that this was a fit opportunity to renew his application in behalf of baron Trenck. He accordingly did ſo, and Frederick conſented to his releaſe; upon which the company expreſſed ſo much joy, that it gave the king offence. Life, ut ſupra, vol. II. p. 247, 248.

[I] Though baron Trenck had great vigour of conſtitution, great ſtrength of body, and much intellectual ability, it is natural to ſuppoſe, that ſo long a confinement, attended with ſuch uncommon ſufferings and hardſhips, muſt have had a conſiderable effect upon him. Accordingly he ſays, in his account of his life, (vol. II. p. 248, 249.) 'For ſome weeks after I firſt obtained 'my freedom, I was generally abſent in mind, and deep in 'thought. This was a habit I had acquired in priſon, and the 'objects of ſight appeared but as the viſions of ſleep. I often 'ſtopped in the ſtreets, ſtared around me, doubted my own ex-'iſtence, and bit my finger, in order to convince myſelf that I 'was really awake and alive.'

When he was afterwards at Vienna, he was for ſome time confined by a fit of illneſs, and ſpeaking of his going abroad, after

He was conveyed out of the Pruſſian dominions in a covered waggon [K], in which he was conducted to Prague, without being ſuffered to ſpeak to any perſon upon the road; and from Prague he immediately proceeded to Vienna [L].

I HAVE

after his recovery, he ſays, 'Walking round the ramparts of 'Vienna, having recovered from my ſickneſs, the vivifying 'ſpring, and the broad expanſe of heaven, inſpired a conſciouſ-'neſs of preſent freedom, and of pleaſure indeſcribable. I heard 'the morning ſong of the lark. My heart palpitated, my pulſe 'quickened, and my blood trickled through my veins with de-'light: for I felt that I was a man, and I recollected that I was 'not in chains. Happen, ſaid I, what may, I fear not futurity, 'ſo long as my feet, my will, and my heart, are free, and, like 'yonder lark, I can remove from land to land. My ſoul poured 'forth its thankfulneſs for this conſciouſneſs of freedom, and I 'determined to fly Vienna, and to ſeek ſome corner of the world, 'where virtue has nothing to fear from the tongues of ſlanderers, 'the commands of courts, or the arbitrary will of monarchs.' Ibid. p. 250, 251.

[K] Though he was not permitted to ſpeak to any perſon in the town of Magdeburg, after his releaſe, he was viſited in the citadel by the officers of the garriſon, and received many congratulations on his obtaining his liberty. 'How much room for re-'flection,' ſays he, 'did this ſcene afford! My intrinſic worth-'then, and twenty-four hours before, when in priſon, was the 'ſame; yet, how wonderful an alteration in the carriage and 'countenance of thoſe by whom I had been ſo ſtrictly guarded! I 'was treated with friendſhip, diſtinction, attention, and flattery. 'And why? Becauſe thoſe fetters had dropped off, which I had 'never juſtly borne. Oh World! what art thou? What, in-'deed, in deſpotic ſtates! What is merit, what virtue, where 'arbitrary power diſpoſes of the fate of men? Life, vol. II. p. 212, 213.

[L] He was much diſſatisfied, and with great reaſon, at the treatment which he received at the court of Vienna. He was

even

CHAP. XXXII. A. D. 1763.

I HAVE dwelt the longer on the caſe of baron Trenck, becauſe the circumſtances of his life

even kept for ſome time in confinement in that city, it being given out, that he had threatened the life of the king of Pruſſia; and the court of Vienna was at that time deſirous of being on good terms with the Pruſſian monarch, on account of the election of a king of the Romans, which was then nearly approaching. He was afterwards releaſed, and made a major in the Auſtrian ſervice. But he was prevented from ſucceeding to the greateſt part of the ample fortune which ſhould have deſcended to him from the Auſtrian baron Trenck, who was now dead, of whom he was the neareſt ſurviving relation, and who had alſo left him his heir by will. This was effected on various pretences, in conſequence of which he was involved in many tedious and expenſive law-ſuits. But the principal reaſon appears to have been, his refuſal to embrace the Romiſh religion; and on this account the influence of the Popiſh clergy, and particularly ſome of the Jeſuits at Vienna, was greatly exerted againſt him. As he was born in the year 1726, he was in his thirty-eighth year when he obtained his liberty. In 1765, he married a lady of good family at Aix-la-Chapelle, and by whom he had eleven children. He reſided ſome years at Aix-la-Chapelle; during part of which time he ſeems chiefly to have ſupported himſelf by his writings; for he had been deprived of his paternal inheritance in Pruſſia, and appears not to have derived much advantage from his Auſtrian inheritance. His temper was naturally generous; and, when poſſeſſed of money, he parted from it with great readineſs and liberality. He publiſhed a news-paper at Aix-la-Chapelle, and a periodical work, intitled, "The Friend of Men," together with ſome other performances. The freedom of his writings gave much offence to many of the Popiſh clergy, and alſo to ſome other perſons. In the courſe of his travels, after his releaſe from Magdeburg, he viſited Hungary, and was extremely well received by the Hungarian nobility. With a view of increaſing his income, he ſent large quantities of Hungarian wine into England, France, Holland, and the empire; and in order to eſtabliſh a trade of this kind, he made a journey into England. He was accompanied by a young man, who was brother to his wife, and who ſeems to have acted as his agent. The

baron

life are ſingular and curious, and the treatment, which he received from the king of Pruſſia, can with no propriety be omitted in a hiſtory of that monarch's life. It ſhould be remembered, in conſidering the caſe of this gentleman, that the ſufferings which were inflicted upon him were without trial, either civil or military; and his innocence of any criminal correſpondence with the Auſtrians, appears now to be univerſally believed throughout the Pruſſian dominions, and even at the Pruſſian court [M]. The caſe, indeed, of baron TRENCK may be conſidered as affording a ſtriking proof, that deſpotic power ought never to be intruſted to any man, however ſplendid his abilities. Notwithſtanding Frederick's uncommon ſaga-

CHAP. XXXII. A. D. 1763.

baron was reſpectfully and hoſpitably entertained by many perſons of rank in England; but he was unfortunate in his commercial connexions in London. He was defrauded of wine to a large amount; and this untoward circumſtance, which was probably rendered more prejudicial to him than it might otherwiſe have been, by the warmth of his temper, and his ignorance of the Engliſh laws and cuſtoms, has led him to throw out ſome unjuſt, and ill founded reflections, on the Engliſh laws, and Engliſh nation in general.

[M] Since the acceſſion of the preſent king, Frederick William, baron Trenck has been introduced at the Pruſſian court, and extremely well received. The king himſelf had an interview, and a long converſation with him; and he appeared to be highly reſpected, by the Pruſſian court, and nation in general, for the ſignal fortitude with which he had endured his long, unmerited, and extraordinary ſufferings. He regained poſſeſſion of his eſtate in Pruſſia; and the king gave one of his ſons a commiſſion in the Pruſſian ſervice. The baron has alſo another ſon in the Auſtrian ſervice.

city

CHAP. XXXII. A. D. 1763.

city and penetration, he appears in this affair to have been totally deceived; and, notwithſtanding his pretences to juſtice and humanity, he acted, in this inſtance, like the moſt ſavage and unfeeling tyrant. It is not in the power of language, to cenſure his conduct on this tranſaction with too much ſeverity, or to expreſs too much indignation, at this exhibition of cool, premeditated, unrelenting barbarity.

CHAP. XXXIII.

Frederick's letter to Staniſlaus Poniatowſki, on his elevation to the throne of Poland.—He viſits the duchy of Sileſia, and makes ſundry new regulations in different parts of his dominions.—Eſtabliſhes ſeveral beneficial inſtitutions.—Receives a viſit from the emperor at Neiſs, in Sileſia.—Erects a new palace near Potſdam, and a great number of new buildings in that city, and at Berlin.—His prejudice againſt German artiſts.

CHAP. XXXIII. A. D. 1764.

AS Auguſtus, king of Poland, elector of Saxony, died ſoon after his reſtoration to his electoral dominions, count Staniſlaus Poniatowſki was elected king of Poland in his room, in the year 1764. The king of Pruſſia exerted his intereſt to promote the election of this prince; and, after that event had taken place, he wrote a letter to the new king, which contained the following paſſages:

'YOUR majeſty muſt reflect, that as you 'enjoy a crown by election, and not by de'ſcent, the world will be more obſervant of 'your

CHAP. XXXIII. A. D. 1764.

'your majeſty's actions, than of thoſe of any 'other potentate in Europe; and it is but 'reaſonable. The latter being the mere ef- 'fect of conſanguinity, no more is looked for '(though much more is to be wiſhed) from 'him, than what men are endowed with in 'common. But from a man exalted, by the 'voice of his equals, from a ſubject to a king, 'from a man voluntarily elected to reign over 'thoſe by whom he was choſen, every thing is 'expected that can poſſibly deſerve or adorn 'a crown. Gratitude to his people is the firſt 'great duty of ſuch a monarch; for to them 'alone (under Providence) he is indebted that 'he is one. A king, who is ſo by birth, if he 'acts in a manner derogatory to his ſtation, 'is a ſatire only on himſelf; but an elected 'one, who behaves inconſiſtently with his dig- 'nity, reflects diſhonour alſo on his ſubjects. 'Your majeſty, I am ſure, will pardon this 'warmth. It is the effuſion of the ſincereſt 'regard. The amiable part of the picture is 'not ſo much a leſſon of what you ought to 'be, as a prophecy of what your majeſty 'will be[a].

In the month of Auguſt, this year, Frederick made a journey into Sileſia, accompanied by his brother prince Henry[b]. The deſign of this excurſion appears to have been, to make

[a] Annual Regiſter, vol. VII. p. 14. Gent. Mag. vol. XXXIV, p. 459. 460.

[b] Gent. Mag. ubi ſupra, p. 446.

ſuch

ſuch obſervations relative to the ſtate of the country, and the manners and cuſtoms of the inhabitants, as would the better enable him to make proper regulations for the government of the province. In the courſe of the year, he alſo made ſome new regulations in his dominions, with reſpect to ſchools, and the police [c].

In 1765, the king eſtabliſhed an office of inſurance at Berlin; an inſtitution which, he juſtly ſuppoſed, might be very beneficial to his ſubjects. The letters patent for eſtabliſhing this office were to be in force for thirty years; during which time no other inſurance office was to be ſet on foot in any of the Pruſſian dominions [d]. About this time Frederick alſo eſtabliſhed "the Military Academy" at Berlin [N]. He likewiſe founded

[c] Annual Regiſter, ut ſupra, p. 77.

[d] Annual Regiſter, vol. VIII. p. 68.

[N] Of this inſtitution the following account has been given: 'The MILITARY ACADEMY is agreeably ſituated on the 'banks of the Sprey, oppoſite to the royal palace. In this 'ſchool, which is under the wiſeſt and beſt regulations, fifteen 'young gentlemen, ſelected from the corps of noble cadets, are 'maintained and educated at the king's expence. Their dreſs, 'which is a plain uniform, conſiſts of a blue coat, and yellow 'waiſtcoat and breeches, with white buttons. To every three 'ſtudents, an old, ſenſible, and experienced officer is appointed 'as governor, to be conſtantly near his pupils, and preſide over 'their education. The three pupils ſleep together in the ſame 'chamber, and have a lacquey, in the livery of the houſe, for 'their attendant. The manner in which theſe young gentlemen,

CHAP. XXXIII. A. D. 1765.

ed another inſtitution called "the School "of Noble Cadets [o]," and an "Orphan-"houſe,"

'men are educated, is admirably calculated to render them uſe-
'ful members of ſociety, and to inſpire them with notions ſuited
'to their birth: for they are uſually of the beſt families. They
'are inſtructed in all the living languages, and in the different
'ſciences, by excellent maſters or profeſſors, who are generally
'members of the academy of ſciences. Each ſtudent has a
'monthly allowance of nine crowns for pocket-money. The
'governors are to take care, that this money is not expended
'improperly. In winter, they go in a body twice a week to the
'French academy; in fine weather they make excurſions into
'the country; one or two of their governors are always of their
'parties. Theſe gentlemen, likewiſe, take it in turn to attend
'the ſtudents to the riding-houſe, and in their other exerciſes.
'All the governors and ſtudents dine together in a large hall;
'and the management of the houſe is entruſted to a privy-coun-
'ſellor, who acts under the direction of a lieutenant-general.
'This eſtabliſhment is ſaid to coſt his majeſty forty-five thouſand
'crowns annually. But, beſides the young gentlemen who are
'educated in this manner at the king's expence, fifteen others are
'admitted, whoſe parents pay eight hundred crowns per annum
'for each to the director. Theſe live, and are educated, preci-
'ſely in the ſame way as thoſe who are maintained at the king's
'expence; and no one can be admitted on this footing without
'his majeſty's expreſs permiſſion.' Obſervations on the Military
'Eſtabliſhment, &c. of the king of Pruſſia, p. 43, 44, 45.

[o] 'The SCHOOL OF NOBLE CADETS, though in
'ſome reſpects it may be uſeful, is by no means equal to the mi-
'litary academy. This ſchool, which is an old building, built
'in the form of a circus, was originally a theatre for the com-
'bats of wild beaſts, a barbarous diverſion much in vogue in
'Germany. They have contrived to form apartments in it, for
'the reception of three hundred and fifty cadets, the greater part
'of whom come from the remoter provinces, particularly Pome-
'rania, which ſwarms with poor nobility. Theſe cadets are
'fed

CHAP. XXXIII. A. D. 1765.

"houſe [P]," at Potſdam. He alſo eſtabliſhed an East India company at Embden, with liberty

'fed in a coarſe manner, and clothed like common ſoldiers. 'Their education is altogether military. They are taught to 'read and write, and are likewiſe inſtructed in mathematics and 'the languages. A few old invalids are appointed to ſuperintend 'their education; but as theſe governors are ſeldom men of 'very enlarged ideas, the ſtudents cannot profit much by their 'inſtructions, unleſs it be in the manual exerciſe, which they 'are taught on certain days of the week, when they are formed 'into companies for this purpoſe on the parade. The king al-'lows ſix crowns, per month, for the maintenance of each cadet. 'The expence of their cloathing is placed to the army account. 'This corps is the nurſery of ſubaltern officers for the Pruſſian 'armies.' Obſervations, &c. ut ſupra, p. 45, 46.

[P] 'The ORPHAN-HOUSE, at Potſdam, is an admirable 'foundation, and well managed. Six thouſand children are nou-'riſhed, clothed, and ſupported in this aſylum at the king's ex-'pence. The boys are ſoldiers born, and are diſtributed through 'the ſeveral regiments, as ſoon as they arrive at the age that fits 'them for ſervice. The girls (who, by the bye, are allowed too 'much liberty) are maintained in the houſe till they are placed 'out, or married. Several foundations of this kind, though on 'a ſmall ſcale, are to be met with in other parts of the Pruſſian 'dominions. The building for this purpoſe at Potſdam, is of 'an immenſe ſize, and extremely elegant. The number of chil-'dren that are admitted into it is unlimited; and not only or-'phans, but the children of ſoldiers, or peaſants, who are unable 'to maintain them, are all received without any trouble, no diſ-'tinction being made between a baſtard, and a legitimate off-'ſpring. Indeed, the meaſures taken by his Pruſſian majeſty, to 'promote the propagation of the ſpecies in his territories, are not 'a little extraordinary. Pregnancy is rendered reſpectable, how-'ever it has been acquired. A big belly ſecures, by law, the li-'centious daughter from the reproaches of her parents, and a maid-'ſervant from the cenſures of her maſter and miſtreſs, who are

CHAP. XXXIII. A. D. 1766.

ty to trade to all parts of the East Indies. But this company were not successful; and several of Frederick's efforts to establish commerce in his dominions, were rendered abortive by injudicious taxes, monopolies, and various restrictions.

On the fourteenth of July, 1765, Frederick William, prince-royal of Prussia, was married to the princess Elizabeth Christina Ulrica, of Brunswick, at Berlin. After the ceremony, which was performed with great pomp, the king and queen, the prince-royal and his consort, the duke of York, the princes and princesses of the blood, the foreign ministers, nobility, and other persons of rank, supped at four tables, each of two hundred covers. After supper was a ball, which was opened by the prince and new princess of Prussia, and in which the king and duke of York also danced [e]. The following year, in order to encourage the porcelain manufactory [Q] in his kingdom,

'not suffered to turn her away, or to ill treat her, nor even to reproach her for what she has done. When a girl is with child, she applies to a magistrate, who fixes the place where she is to lie in; and the inhabitants of the town, or village, pay the expences of her delivery, if she or her family are not in circumstances to do it. The moment the child is born, it is put out to nurse at the expence of its parents, if they are capable of maintaining it. If they are not, the parish advances the money, and is reimbursed by the king.' Ibid. p. 46, 47.

[e] Annual Register, vol. VIII. p. 111.

[Q] 'The China manufacture at Berlin has made such a progress

kingdom, Frederick made preſents of ſuperb ſervices of china, of the manufacture of Berlin, to ſeveral German princes. And in 1767, the princeſs Frederica Sophia Wilhemina of Pruſſia, ſiſter to the prince-royal, was married to the prince of Orange at Berlin. This marriage, which was ſolemnized with great magnificence, was afterwards productive of conſiderable effects reſpecting Holland. CHAP. XXXIII. A. D. 1767.

In 1768, Frederick made a donation of three hundred thouſand crowns to the inhabitants of Sileſia. This money was diſtributed among thoſe perſons, who, by the conſequences of the late war, or by other unfortunate events, had been reduced to the neceſſity of contracting debts, or mortgaging their eſtates[f]. The ſame year he alſo made ſome new arrangements in his army; and, in particular, increaſed the number of men in all his companies of infantry[g]. In 1769, Frederick again

[f] 'progreſs towards perfection, that it almoſt equals that of Dreſ-'den, both in beauty of painting, and elegance of pattern, and 'is even ſaid to excel it in the materials of which it is compoſ-'ed. As this manufacture is carried on for the king's account, 'his majeſty (who underſtands perfectly the practical ſcience of 'ways and means) employs, among others, one good expedient 'to promote the ſale of its productions. Every Jew who mar-'ries, is obliged to buy directly, at the royal ware-houſe, a cer-'tain quantity of china, proportioned to his circumſtances; 'and this quantity is never ſmaller than two hundred crowns, 'amounting ſometimes to ſix thouſand. The purchaſer is al-'lowed to ſell what he has bought, nay, even to ſend it to fo-'reign countries without paying duty.' Obſervations, &c. ut ſupra, p. 48, 49.

[g] Annual Regiſter, vol. XI. p. 76. [h] Ibid. p. 36.

made

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made a journey into Sileſia; and, on the twenty-fifth of Auguſt in that year, he received a viſit from the emperor of Germany [R], at Neiſs, in that duchy. They behaved to each other in a very cordial and friendly manner; they ſpent two nights and a day together; and had more than one private interview. They parted with the ſtrongeſt profeſſions of mutual regard, eſteem, and confidence [h]. When they dined together, ſome of their general officers dined with them. Among theſe was general Laudohn, who had greatly diſtinguiſhed himſelf againſt the king of Pruſſia, and who was going to place himſelf at the lower end of the table: but the king called out to him, "I muſt beg, general "Laudohn, that you will do me the favour "to come and ſit by me. I am much better "pleaſed to have you on my ſide, than oppo- "ſite to me."

AMONG other objects of a pacific nature, to which the king attended, after the reſtoration of peace, one was, the embelliſhment of Berlin [s] and

[R] JOSEPH BENEDICT AUGUSTUS, emperor of Germany, was crowned king of the Romans in 1764, and ſucceeded his father as emperor, in 1765.

[h] Annual Regiſter, vol. XII. p. 34.

[s] Dr. Moore ſays, that 'BERLIN is certainly one of the 'moſt beautiful cities in Europe. The ſtreets are built in a 'very regular manner, and of a commodious breadth. In the 'new town they are perfectly ſtraight. Frederick-ſtreet is 'reckoned two Engliſh miles and a half, or a French league, 'in

and Potſdam, and building, in both of theſe cities, a great number of new edifices. He

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'in length. Others, which go off at right angles from that, 'are a mile, or a mile and a half long.'—'There are a few 'very magnificent buildings in this town. The reſt are neat 'houſes, built of a fine white free-ſtone, generally one, or at 'moſt two ſtories high. Here, as at Potſdam, the finiſhing 'within does not correſpond with the elegance of the outſide, 'and the ſoldiers are quartered on the ground-floor in rooms 'looking to the ſtreet. The principal edifices are the king's 'palace, and that of prince Henry. Both of theſe are very 'magnificent. The arſenal, which is a noble ſtructure, is built 'in the form of a ſquare.'—'The new Roman Catholic church 'is by far the moſt elegant place of worſhip in the city. The 'king allows the free exerciſe of every religion over all his do-'minions. He thinks the ſmalleſt controul over men's conſciences 'highly unjuſt.

'BERLIN, though not a fortified, is certainly a very military 'town. When all the ſoldiers of the garriſon are preſent, they 'amount to thirty thouſand. In their general conduct they are 'quiet, and the police of the town are pretty well regulated. 'Yet there are ſome kinds of irregularities which prevail in the 'higheſt degree. Public courtezans are more numerous here 'than in any town in Europe, in proportion to the number of 'inhabitants. They appear openly at the windows in the day-'time, beckon to paſſengers as they walk in the ſtreets, and ply 'for employment in any way they pleaſe, without diſturbance 'from the magiſtrate.'

'The moſt faſhionable walk, in Berlin, is in the middle of 'one of the principal ſtreets. Before the houſes on each ſide 'there is a cauſeway, and between theſe two cauſeways are fine 'gravel walks, planted with lime trees. Tents are pitched 'under theſe, and ice, lemonade, and other refreſhments ſold. 'The bands of muſic belonging to the regiments practiſe here 'in the ſummer. The company generally are in the greateſt

'number

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He erected every year, at his own expence, forty houſes in Berlin, and thirty two at Potſdam [1] [T]. They were conſtructed after the king's

[1] number in the evening, and often walk till it is very late.' View of Society and Manners in France, Switzerland, and Germany, vol. II. p. 162, 163, 177, 182.

[1] Obſervations, &c. on the Military Eſtabliſhment, &c. of the King of Pruſſia, p. 34.

[T] Dr. Burney ſays, that 'the road from Berlin to POTSDAM is through a deep running ſand, like the worſt parts of Norfolk and Suffolk, where there are no turnpikes, till within a few miles of the town; and then it is through a wild foreſt of fir-trees, with lakes frequently in ſight. Upon a nearer approach, there is a fine opening on the left hand, to a very large piece of water, and a beautiful view of the town, in which three towers, of the ſame ſize and ſhape, only appear; but theſe are elegant. The reſt of the way is through a wood, cut into walks and rides, which interſect each other, and lead to different towns and villas.

'The examination at the gates of POTSDAM is the moſt minute and curious, both in going in, and out, which I have ever experienced in my travels. It could not be more rigorous at the poſtern of a town beſieged. Name, character, whence, where, when, to whom recommended, buſineſs, ſtay, and ſeveral other particulars, were demanded, to which the anſwers were all written down. However, a ſtranger, upon his entrance into this city, is made ſome amends, by the variety and ſplendor of new objects, for the bad road, and difficulty of admiſſion, which he has previouſly encountered.

'The ſtreets are the moſt regularly beautiful which I ever remember to have ſeen. The houſes all ſeem to be built of white ſtone, though they are only of brick, ſtuccoed over, in imitation of ſtone. A canal, ſupplied by the river Havel, runs through the middle of the town, which is ſituated on an iſland, called

THE

king's own plans; and his principal architect attended to receive his orders on that head, on

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'THE WERDER OF POTSDAM, which implies an iſland in 'a river. This iſland is four German miles in circumference. The 'approach to POTSDAM is over a very wide piece of water, by 'a ſtone bridge.

'The number of houſes in this city has been very much in-'creaſed during the reign of his preſent majeſty, and that of his 'father. At the beginning of this century, there were only two 'hundred houſes; and at preſent there are at leaſt two thouſand, 'and ſeventeen thouſand inhabitants, excluſive of the military, 'which amount to about eight thouſand men.

'Four battalions of foot guards, with the ſquadron of life-'guards, and the regiment of the prince of Pruſſia, compoſe the 'conſtant garriſon of POTSDAM. The uniform of the firſt bat-'talion of foot-guards is blue, embroidered with ſilver, and turn-'ed up with red; the waiſtcoats are of pale yellow; the hats, 'which are extremely large, have a very broad ſilver lace, in 'imitation of *point d'eſpagne*, and are cocked in the old Keven-'huller faſhion, which, added to huge black whiſkers, give the 'men a moſt formidable appearance. The fourth battalion, call-'ed the Leſtewitz battalion, is formed of the remains of the late 'king's tall grenadiers.

'The ſquares, public buildings, and houſes of individuals in 'this city, are elegant and noble. The architecture of Palladio, 'in the Venetian ſtate, is here very frequently and ſucceſsfully co-'pied. His majeſty's preſent paſſion is for architecture, in which 'he is ſaid to expend 200,000l. ſterling a year. POTSDAM is al-'moſt entirely new built, from his own deſigns, beſides his new 'palaces, near Sans-Souci, and innumerable houſes and palaces 'in Berlin, conſtructed ſince the laſt war. Whenever a citizen 'is about building a houſe, either in his capital, or at Potſdam, 'his majeſty furniſhes the deſign, and is at the expence of build-'ing the front.' Preſent State of Muſic in Germany, &c. vol. II. p. 115—119.

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on a certain day in every year. He alſo erected in the ſame manner, every year, a certain number of houſes, and often other buildings, at Konigſberg, Breſlaw, and in other towns of his dominions [k].

In another place the ſame ingenious writer, ſpeaking of POTSDAM, ſays, 'in viſiting the principal ſtreets and ſquares of this 'beautiful city, which is well-built, well-paved, magnificent, 'and new, I could not help obſerving, that foot paſſengers were 'here, as well as in every other city of Europe, except London, 'expoſed to accidents from being mixed with horſes and carri- 'ages, as well as from the inſolence and brutality of their riders 'and drivers, for want of a *foot-path*.

'I know not whether it has been remarked by writers of tra- 'vels, that on the *Via Appia*, and other ancient roads in Italy, 'a place was ſet apart, on each ſide, for the convenience of pe- 'deſtrians; and in viſiting Pompeia, where an entire antique Ro- 'man ſtreet has been dug out, I obſerved the ſame thing. A 'Roman citizen, whether patrician or plebeian, was a reſpecta- 'ble character; and, perhaps, England is the only country, at 'preſent, where the common people are ſufficiently reſpected, for 'their lives and limbs to be thought worth preſerving.

'The preſent rage for architecture, in his Pruſſian majeſty, is 'carried on with ſuch exceſs, that, in POTSDAM, buildings 'which have all the external grandeur and elegance of palaces, 'are made the habitations of common ſoldiers, who rather exiſt 'than live in them, upon five creutzers, two pence half-penny, 'a day. However, this paſſion is hereditary; for the late king 'of Pruſſia (Frederick William) made it a condition, in beſtow- 'ing offices and employments about his court and perſon, that 'each incumbent ſhould build a houſe, reſerving to himſelf the 'pleaſure of planning and conſtructing the front.' Ibid. p. 197, 198.

[k] Obſervations on the Military Eſtabliſhment of the king of Pruſſia, p. 37.

FREDERICK

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FREDERICK likewiſe erected a new palace at Sans-Souci, near Potſdam. Dr. Burney remarks of this palace, which is generally ſtiled THE NEW PALACE, that it appeared to him to be one of the moſt elegant and perfect, which he had ſeen in Europe. 'It is conſtructed,' ſays he, 'as well as moſt of the magnificent 'buildings in Potſdam, from his majeſty's own 'deſigns. The front is decorated with fluted 'pilaſters, of the Corinthian order, before 'each of which there is a ſtatue. Theſe pil-'lars are of a pale yellow colour, and the reſt 'of the wall in imitation of red brick. A cu-'pola appears above the pediment, upon which 'are placed, on a high pedeſtal, the three 'graces; and the ſtatues and groupes of fi-'gures, which embelliſh the attic ſtory, and 'the baluſtrades, are ſcarcely to be number-'ed. The apartments are fitted up with the 'utmoſt magnificence and taſte. There is a 'ſuite of rooms appropriated to almoſt every 'branch of the royal family. Thoſe of the king, 'of his ſiſter princeſs Amelia, and the prince 'of Pruſſia, are the moſt ſplendid. In each of 'theſe apartments, there is a room dedicated 'to muſic, furniſhed with books, deſks, a harp-'ſichord, and other inſtruments. His ma-'jeſty's concert room is ornamented with 'glaſſes of an immenſe ſize, and with ſculp-'ture, partly gilt, and partly of the moſt 'beautiful green varniſh, by Martin of Paris. 'The whole furniture, and ornaments of this

'room,

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'room, are in a moſt refined and exquiſite 'taſte. There is a *piano forte*, made by Silberman of Neuberg, beautifully varniſhed 'and embelliſhed; and a tortoiſe-ſhell deſk, 'for his majeſty's uſe, moſt richly and elegantly inlaid with ſilver. On the table lay 'a catalogue of concertos for the new palace, 'and a book of manuſcript *Solfeggi*, as his majeſty calls them, or preludes, compoſed of 'difficult diviſions and paſſages for the exerciſe of the hand, as the vocal *Solfeggi* are for 'the throat. His majeſty has books of this 'kind, for the uſe of his flute, in the muſic 'room of every one of his palaces.'

'In every apartment of the new palace 'through which I was conducted, there appeared a ſtudied elegance and delicacy in the 'furniture, which I had never met with before. The taſte, indeed, is rather that of 'France than Italy: however, it is the beſt 'of the kind, and includes both elegance and 'convenience. The hall, called THE MARBLE 'GALLERY, is truly ſuperb, and worthy of 'royalty. It is extremely ſpacious and lofty, 'and is totally encruſted with red ſpotted 'marble, called *Red Carolini*, mixed with white 'Italian marble. The pavement likewiſe is of 'white marble, and the cieling is ornamented 'with three large pictures, in gilt ſtucco 'frames, painted by Rode, the ſubjects of 'which are morning, noon, and night. Tho' 'his majeſty's principal collection of paint-

'ings,

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'ings, is in the picture gallery at Sans-Souci, yet there are two or three rooms in the new palace, very rich in works of capital Italian maſters. But it is out of my province to enumerate theſe: and for the coſtly gold and ſilver hangings, the exquiſitely varniſhed wainſcots, rich cielings, or Moſaic floors, they are not to be deſcribed.

'OPPOSITE to the great front of this palace, 'there are two elegant buildings of white ſtone, 'joined together by a ſuperb ſemi-circular 'colonnade, of fluted pillars, of the Corinthian 'order. Theſe buildings are called, the 'GREAT COMMONS; in the lower part of which 'are the kitchens, cellars, and other offices; 'and, in the upper ſtories, lodging-rooms for 'the king's attendants, and for foreigners of 'diſtinction. At the front of each building, 'there is a double circular eſcalier, which leads 'to a colonnade of inſulated and fluted Corin-'thian pillars, which ſupport a pediment, or-'namented with ſtatues; at each wing is placed 'a ſmall tower, with a cupola. The idea of 'theſe buildings is taken from the ruins of 'Palmyra. Indeed, his Pruſſian majeſty has 'made as frequent uſe of the remains of Athens, 'Palmyra, and Balbec, in the temples, ruins, 'and other buildings, in his gardens, as he has, 'at Potſdam, of the deſigns of Palladio, San-'ſovino, and Scammozi.'

' Preſent State of Muſic in Germany, &c. vol. II. p. 144, 149.

THE

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THE ground on which this new palace was erected, was before a moraſs, and the whole country around was naked and barren; and with a reference to the king's known infidelity, and to the rapidity with which this palace was conſtructed, and the face of the country changed, it was ſaid by a German wit, "It muſt be "allowed, that his majeſty performs miracles, "though he believes none [m]."

FREDERICK purchaſed a great number of paintings for the decoration of his palaces; but in making his purchaſes, he paid little attention to the opinions of connoiſſeurs. Without any regard to the names of painters, he ſelected ſuch pieces only as appeared to himſelf to be excellent. 'It has no weight 'with him,' ſays Dr. Moore, 'that the piece 'is ſaid to be by Raphael, Guido, or Cor-'reggio. If he ſee no beauty in it, he ſays ſo, 'and without ceremony prefers the work of a 'modern or obſcure painter. This is conſider-'ed by many critics in painting as blaſphemy, 'and ſhocks them more than any other ſpecies 'of impiety. A painter, and great connoiſſeur, 'whom the king had diſguſted, by rejecting 'ſome pictures of his recommending, and by 'purchaſing others which he had condemned, 'ſaid, ſpeaking of the king, "The man ima-"gines, becauſe he can play on the German

[m] Preſent State of Muſic in Germany, &c. vol. II. p. 134, 144.

"flute,

"flute, and has been praiſed by a parcel of "poets and philoſophers, and has gained ten "or a dozen battles, that therefore he under- "ſtands painting. But fighting battles is one "thing, and a true knowledge of painting "is another, and that he will find to his "coſt[a]."

But though the king had no partiality for antient painters of great name, if he could not find excellence in their works, he had yet a great prejudice againſt German artiſts. One day colonel Quintus ſhewed him a picture of conſiderable merit, which at firſt he greatly admired; but when he was informed, that it was painted by a German artiſt, who lived at Berlin, he ſaid, "I do not like it; take it "away." The painter was ſo much exaſperated at the reception which his picture had met with from the king, that when it was returned to him, he threw it into the fire. Soon after Frederick wanted a picture to fill up a vacant place, and told Quintus, that he would purchaſe the picture that he had before rejected. Quintus informed him, that this was impoſſible; becauſe the painter, finding that he could not pleaſe his majeſty, had burnt his picture. "Well, Quintus," ſaid the king, "that I call caprice." "Yes, ſire," replied the

[a] View of Society and Manners in France, Switzerland, and Germany, vol. II. p. 123, 124. edit. 1786.

colonel,

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colonel, "though he is a German artiſt, he "has all the caprice of an Italian [o]."

FREDERICK diſcovered a ſimilar prejudice againſt mademoiſelle Schmeling, now the celebrated madame Mara, when he was requeſted to hear her ſing. It was with much difficulty that he was prevailed upon to hear her: "A German ſinger!" ſaid he; "I ſhould "as ſoon expect to receive pleaſure from the "neighing of my horſe [p]." But when he had heard her, he was ſo much delighted with her performance [v], that he took her into his ſervice, and gave her a penſion of four thouſand crowns [q].

His prejudices againſt German artiſts ſeem to have been extended to workmen of every kind, in whoſe performances any degree of ingenuity could be exhibited. He had been preſented, by the count de Rothenburg, with a ſnuff-box of very curious workmanſhip, which he ſuppoſed to have been made at Paris, and which, under that idea, he greatly ad-

[o] Vie de Frederick II. Roy de Pruſſe, tom. IV. p. 10. Anecdotes and Characteriſtics of Frederick the Great, vol. II. p. 148, 149.

[p] Burney's preſent State of Muſic, ut ſupra, p. 110, 111.

[v] Dr. Burney ſays, 'After he had heard her ſing one ſong, 'his majeſty is ſaid to have ſought among his manuſcript muſic 'for the moſt difficult airs in his collection, in order to try her 'powers, as much as to gratify his own ear; but ſhe executed 'at ſight, whatever he commanded her to perform, in all ſtiles, 'as well as if ſhe had practiſed each of theſe compoſitions dur-'ing her whole life.' Preſent State of Muſic, ut ſupra, p. 111.

[q] Vie de Frederick II. Roy de Pruſſe, ut ſupra.

mired.

ired. But when, after having had it for a nſiderable time, he accidentally diſcovered at it had been really made at Berlin, he ould keep it no longer, but gave it away to ne of his attendants [p].

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[p] Vie de Frederick II. Roy de Pruſſe, ut ſupra, p. 9.

CHAP. XXXIV.

The king of Pruſſia pays a viſit to the emperor, at Neuſtadt, in Moravia.—The territories of Dantzick invaded by Pruſſian troops.—Partition of Poland.

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AS the king of Pruſſia had received a viſit from the emperor of Germany in Sileſia, in the year 1769, in the following year he paid a viſit to the emperor, in his turn, at Neuſtadt in Moravia. It was on the third of September, 1770, that Frederick arrived at the emperor's camp; the meeting between theſe two great princes was apparently attended with much mutual eſteem and regard [u]; and a grand review was made of the Auſtrian troops for the king's entertainment. But, at the preſent period, Frederick's own troops were not wholly inactive: on the twenty-ninth of the

[u] 'The meeting between theſe great monarchs was in appearance ſo cordial and affectionate, as greatly to affect the beholders, particularly the troops, many of whom remembered, and had experienced, the fatal conſequences of the animoſity that had ſo long ſubſiſted between the two families.' Annual Regiſter, vol. XIII. p. 42, 43.

ſame

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ſame month, a body of Pruſſian troops made a ſudden irruption, at two o'clock in the morning, into the territories of Dantzick, where they ſurprized ſeveral of the out-poſts, ſeized the cannon, and made the men priſoners. They were afterwards reinforced to the number of five thouſand, and encamped about four miles from the city, where they continued ſome weeks, but obſerved an exact diſcipline [a]. The pretence for this invaſion of the territories of Dantzick was, that the magiſtrates had forbidden the Pruſſian recruiting officers to levy men within their free city; and that the poſt-maſter had refuſed to paſs ſome caſks of ſilver, which came from the Pruſſian reſident, without examination. It was remarked, that the complaint founded on the laſt of theſe cauſes, was the more groundleſs, as the poſt-office belonged to the king of Poland, and the magiſtrates had no authority over it [b].

THE inhabitants of Dantzick, having ſecured their gates, immediately applied to all the foreign miniſters, to write to their reſpective courts, to ſolicit their protection, or interceſſion in their favour. But no effectual interpoſition was made in their behalf: and the reſult was, that, in about a month, the city, upon agreeing to pay ſeventy-five thouſand ducats, and ſubſcribing to certain conditions, was admitted to depute two counſellers, to

[a] Annual Regiſter, vol. XIII. p. 43. [b] Id. ibid.

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make a ſubmiſſion to his Pruſſian majeſty. The conditions were: firſt, that they ſhould ſettle and pay, without delay, all the demands made by the king's ſubjects on the city or burghers; ſecondly, that the Pruſſians ſhould have liberty to enliſt recruits; thirdly, that the inhabitants of Dantzick ſhould not harbour any Pruſſian deſerters; fourthly, that the money conſigned to the Pruſſian reſident ſhould not be liable to inſpection; and, fifthly, that the inhabitants ſhould "comport themſelves in ſuch a manner, "as not to give any future cauſe of complaint "to his Pruſſian majeſty [c]." At the ſame time, all the Pruſſian ſubjects, who were reſident at Dantzick, were peremptorily ordered to return to their reſpective countries [w].

FREDERICK was, indeed, now ſo much determined to increaſe the population of his own dominions, that he adopted very extraordinary methods for that purpoſe. His troops entered into Great Poland, in the year 1771; and, during the ſpace of that year, he is ſaid to have carried off from that province, and

[c] Annual Regiſter, vol. XIII. p. 44.

[w] It has been remarked, that 'Nothing could be more arbitrary, nor attended with circumſtances of greater cruelty than 'this act. Many of theſe people had married, had formed all 'their connections, had acquired conſiderable fortunes, and had 'ſpent the principal part of their lives in that great trading city. 'So that this order carried along with it all the pungent ſtings of 'baniſhment from a native country, at the moſt critical periods, 'and in the moſt intereſting ſituations of life.' Annual Regiſter, ut ſupra.

from

from the neighbourhood, at a moderate computation, twelve thouſand families [d]. On the twenty-ninth of October, in the ſame year, the king of Pruſſia alſo publiſhed an edict in that province, commanding every perſon, under the ſevereſt penalties, to take in payment for forage, proviſions, corn, and horſes, the money offered by his troops and commiſſaries. This money was either ſilver, bearing the impreſſion of Poland, and exactly worth one third of its nominal value, or ducats ſtruck in imitation of Dutch ducats, ſeventeen per cent. inferior to the real ducats of Holland [e]. With this baſe money [x] he bought up corn, and forage

[d] Lind's Letters concerning the preſent State of Poland, ſecond edit. 1773, p. 113.

[e] Lind's Letters concerning the preſent State of Poland, ut ſupra.

[x] It appears that Frederick at ſeveral different times coined money, the real value of which was greatly inferior to what it paſſed for; and though his ſubjects were directed to take it, his revenue officers were forbidden to take it again in taxes. When ſome of this baſe money was in circulation, the king was one day riding near Potſdam, and over-heard a diſpute between a baker and a peaſant, occaſioned by the refuſal of the latter to take ſome of this bad money in exchange. The king rode up to the peaſant, and aſked him, what was the reaſon that he would not take the money? The peaſant looked him full in the face, and ſaid dryly, "Will you take it yourſelf?" The king made him no anſwer, but turned his horſe's head, and rode off.

Mr. Lind ſays, 'The king of Pruſſia, during the laſt war, over-'run all Germany and Poland with falſe and adulterated coin. 'Inſtead of calling it in, at the end of the war, he cried it down, 'and declared it no longer current in his dominions. As he had 'bought

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forage, enough not only to ſupply his army for two whole years, but to ſtock magazines in the country itſelf, where the inhabitants were forced to come and re-purchaſe corn for their daily ſubſiſtence, at an advanced price, and with good money, his commiſſaries refuſing to take the ſame coin they had paid. It is ſaid, that, at the loweſt calculation, "he gained, by "this maſterly and honeſt manœuvre, ſeven "millions of dollars [Y]."

BESIDES

'bought up, during the war, many cattle and much corn in Po-'land, that kingdom ſuffered ſeverely by this unuſual proceeding. 'All the good ſilver inſenſibly diſappeared. The proportion be-'tween the maſs of ſilver and gold was deſtroyed.' Letters concerning Poland, p. 40, 41.

[Y] M. Lynd ſays, Frederick 'having ſtripped the country of 'money and proviſions, he thought it, I ſuppoſe, an act of hu-'manity to thin it ſtill more of its inhabitants. He hit upon a 'new contribution. Every town and village was obliged to fur-'niſh a certain number of marriageable girls; the parents to give, 'as a portion, a feather-bed, four pillows, a cow, two hogs, and 'three ducats in gold. A letter I received from Poſnania, in 'the month of March laſt, (1772) informed me, that a little 'town, called Korztrym, with its dependencies, was forced to 'furniſh general Belling fifty marriageable girls, with each this 'portion; and a correſpondent I have at Stargard, a town be-'longing to the king of Pruſſia, informed me about the ſame time, 'that ſeveral waggons filled with this new kind of contribution 'had paſſed through that town.

'His exactions from the abbeys, convents, cathedrals, and no-'bles, were ſo heavy, and exceeded at laſt their abilities ſo much, 'that the prieſts abandoned the churches, and the nobles their 'lands. Thoſe whom age or infirmities prevented from flying, 'were bound hand and foot, and carried off as criminals.'— 'Theſe exactions continued with unabated rigour, from the year '1770 to the time the treaty of partition was declared, and poſ-'ſeſſion

BESIDES theſe unjuſtifiable actions, of which the king of Pruſſia was guilty at the preſent period, he had alſo a great ſhare, and is ſaid to have been the prime mover [z], in the Parti- CHAP. XXXIV. A. D. 1771.

tion

'ſeſſion taken of the provinces uſurped. The loſs of inhabitants 'is not eaſily to be calculated: that of money has been, I believe, 'moderately computed at three millions of ducats.' Letters concerning Poland, ut ſupra, p. 114, 115, 116.

[z] Mr. Coxe, who appears to have had very accurate information reſpecting the ſteps that were taken, preparatory to the Partition of Poland, ſays, 'The PARTITION OF POLAND 'was firſt projected by the king of Pruſſia. Poliſh, or Weſtern 'Pruſſia had long been an object of his ambition. Excluſively 'of its fertility, commerce, and population, its local ſituation 'rendered it highly valuable to the monarch. It lay between 'his German dominions and Eaſtern Pruſſia, and while poſſeſſed 'by the Poles, cut off, at their will, all communication between 'them. During the courſe of the laſt general war, he experi'enced the moſt fatal effects from this disjointed ſtate of his ter'ritories. By the acquiſition of Weſtern Pruſſia, his dominions 'would be rendered compact, and his troops, in time of war, be 'able to march from Berlin to Koningſberg without interruption. 'The period was now arrived, when the ſituation of Poland 'ſeemed to promiſe the attainment of this favourite object. He 'purſued it, however, with all the caution of an able politician. 'On the commencement of the troubles, he ſhewed no eager'neſs to interfere in the affairs of this country; and although 'he had concurred with the empreſs of Ruſſia in raiſing Staniſlaus 'Auguſtus to the throne of Poland, yet he declined taking any 'active part in his favour againſt the confederates. Afterwards, 'in 1769, when the whole kingdom became convulſed through'out with civil commotions, and deſolated likewiſe by the plague; 'he, under pretence of forming lines to prevent the ſpreading of 'the infection, advanced his troops into Poliſh Pruſſia, and occu'pied that whole diſtrict.

'Though

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tion of Poland. The divided and unhappy ſtate of that country, rendered it the more eaſy for

'Though now completely maſter of the country, and by no 'means apprehenſive of any formidable reſiſtance from the diſ-'united and diſtracted Poles; yet, as he was well aware that 'the ſecurity of his new acquiſition depended upon the acquieſ-'cence of Ruſſia and Auſtria, he planned the partition of Po-'land. He communicated the project to the emperor, either 'during their interview at Neiſs, in Sileſia, in 1769, or in 'that of the following year, at Neuſtadt; from whom the 'overture met with a ready concurrence. Joſeph, who had 'before ſecretly encouraged the confederates, and even com-'menced a negociation with the Porte againſt Ruſſia, now ſud-'denly altered his meaſures, and increaſed his army towards 'the Poliſh frontiers The plague preſenting to him as well 'as to the king of Pruſſia, a ſpecious motive for ſtationing 'troops in the dominions of the republic, he gradually extend-'ed his lines; and, in 1772, he occupied the whole territory 'which he has ſince diſmembered. But, notwithſtanding this 'change in his ſentiments, his real views upon Poland were at 'firſt ſo effectually concealed, that the Poliſh rebels conceived 'that the Auſtrian army was advancing to act in their favour; 'not ſuppoſing it poſſible, that the rival courts of Vienna and 'Berlin could act in concert.

'Nothing more remained towards completing the partition, 'than the acceſſion of the empreſs of Ruſſia. That great 'princeſs was too diſcerning a politician not to regard with a 'jealous eye the introduction of foreign powers into Poland. 'Poſſeſſing an uncontrouled aſcendancy over the whole country, 'ſhe could propoſe no material advantage from the formal 'acquiſition of a part; and muſt purchaſe a moderate addition 'to her territory by a conſiderable ſurrender of authority. 'The king of Pruſſia, well acquainted with the true intereſts 'of Ruſſia in regard to Poland, and with the capacity of the 'empreſs to diſcern thoſe intereſts, forbore (it is ſaid) open-'ing any negociation on the ſubject of the partition, until ſhe

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for the uſurping powers to ſucceed in this iniquitous tranſaction. The Poliſh nation was involved CHAP. XXXIV. A. D. 1772.

'was involved in a Turkiſh war. At that criſis he diſpatched his 'brother prince Henry to Peterſburgh, who ſuggeſted to the em'preſs, that the houſe of Auſtria was forming an alliance with 'the Porte, which, if it took place, would create a moſt formi'dable combination againſt her; that, nevertheleſs, the friend'ſhip of that houſe was to be purchaſed by acceding to the par'tition; that, upon this condition, the emperor was willing to 'renounce his connexion with the grand ſignior, and would ſuf'fer the Ruſſians to proſecute the war without interruption. Ca'tharine, anxious to puſh her conqueſts againſt the Turks, and 'dreading the interpoſition of the emperor in that quarter; per'ceiving, likewiſe, from the intimate union between the courts 'of Vienna and Berlin, that it would not be in her power, at the 'preſent juncture, to prevent the intended partition, cloſed with 'the propoſal; and ſelected no inconſiderable portion of the Poliſh 'territories for herſelf. The treaty was ſigned at Peterſburgh, in 'the beginning of February, 1772, by the Ruſſian, Auſtrian, and 'Pruſſian plenipotentiaries.

'As the troops of the three courts were already in poſſeſſion 'of the greateſt part of Poland, the confederates, hemmed in on 'all ſides, were ſoon routed and diſperſed; and Europe waited 'in anxious expectation what would be the iſſue of this unex'pected union. Yet ſuch was the profound ſecrecy with which 'the partitioning powers proceeded, that, for ſome time after 'the ratification of the treaty, only vague conjectures were enter'tained even at Warſaw concerning their real intentions; and 'the late lord Cathcart, the Engliſh miniſter at Peterſburgh, was 'able to obtain no authentic information of its ſignature, until 'two months after the event. The firſt formal notification of any 'pretenſions to the Poliſh territory was, in the month of Septem'ber, 1772, announced to the king and ſenate aſſembled at War'ſaw, by the Imperial ambaſſador; which was ſoon followed by 'the memorials of the Ruſſian and Pruſſian courts, ſpecifying

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involved in a civil war, which had taken its riſe from the bigotry of the Romiſh clergy [A]; and more than two hundred thouſand of the

'their reſpective claims.' Travels into Poland, Ruſſia, &c. vol. I. p. 65—70. edit. 8vo. 1787.

[A] In 1766, two Poliſh gentlemen preſented a petition to the king of Poland, in the name of all the Proteſtant nobility, and in behalf alſo of the members of the Greek church, wherein they demanded to be reinſtated in their antient rights and privileges, and to be placed upon the ſame footing in every reſpect with the Roman Catholic ſubjects of Poland. The Proteſtants and members of the Greek church, who were conjointly called the Diſſidents, ſaid in their petition, 'The difference of ſentiments upon 'ſome points of religion among Chriſtians, ought not to enter in- 'to any conſideration with regard to the employments of the ſtate. 'The different ſects of Chriſtians, although they differ in opini- 'on among themſelves with reſpect to ſome points of doctrine, 'agree all in one point, that of being faithful to their ſovereign, 'and obedient to his orders. All the Chriſtian courts are convinc- 'ed of this truth; and, therefore, having always this principle 'in view, and without having any regard to the religion they pro- 'feſs, Chriſtian princes ought only to ſeek after thoſe, whoſe 'merit and talents make them capable of ſerving their country 'properly.' The claims of the Diſſidents were founded upon juſtice and reaſon, and were ſupported by the courts of Peterſburgh, of London, of Berlin, and of Copenhagen. But the Roman Catholic clergy of Poland vehemently oppoſed the claims of the Diſſidents, and a civil war took place, which was increaſed by the improper interference of the Ruſſians in the affairs of the republic. It was natural that the king of Pruſſia, from the ſentiments of religious toleration that he had always avowed, ſhould eſpouſe the cauſe of the Diſſidents; but, from the manner in which he did this, it was ſufficiently manifeſt, that his chief aim, in interfering in the affairs of Poland, was to promote the views of his own ambition.

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Poles had been carried off by the peſtilence. At this diſtreſsful period, the project of the partition was formed; by which ſome of the fineſt provinces of Poland were diſmembered from the republic, and divided among the uſurping powers [B]. They found it difficult at firſt to ſettle their reſpective claims; but it was at length agreed, that Poliſh Pruſſia, and ſome diſtricts bordering upon Brandenburgh, ſhould be allotted to the king of Pruſſia; almoſt all the ſouth-caſtern parts of the kingdom, bordering upon Hungary, together with the rich ſalt-works of the crown, were appropriated to the empreſs-queen; and a large diſtrict of country about Mohilow, upon the banks of the Dnieper, was taken poſſeſſion of by the empreſs of Ruſſia [C].

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[B] The conſtitution of the Poliſh government was in many reſpects ſo bad, that if any change had been made in it, even by violent methods, it might not upon the whole have been prejudicial to the people. But the partitioning powers had no wiſh to remedy the defects of the Poliſh government. On the contrary, they laboured to perpetuate, in thoſe parts of the country which they did not ſeize for themſelves, the worſt parts of the Poliſh conſtitution. 'Under pretence,' ſays Mr. Coxe, of amending 'the conſtitution, they have confirmed all its defects; and have 'taken effectual precautions to render this unhappy country inca- 'pable of emerging from its preſent deplorable ſtate.' Travels, ut ſupra, p. 76.

[C] Mr. Coxe ſays, that 'of the diſmembered countries, the 'Ruſſian province is the largeſt, the Auſtrian the moſt populous, 'and the Pruſſian the moſt commercial. The population of the 'whole

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THE courts of London, Paris, Stockholm, and Copenhagen, remonſtrated againſt the partition of Poland; but as theſe remonſtrances were not ſupported by affording any effectual aſſiſtance to the Poles, they were without effect. A declaration was publiſhed by the king and ſenate of Poland, dated at Warſaw, Oct. 17, 1772, and ſigned by the great chancellors of Poland and Lithuania, in which are the fol-

'whole amounts to near 5,000,000 of ſouls; the firſt contains '1,500,000, the ſecond 2,500,000, and the third 860,000. 'Weſtern Pruſſia was the greateſt loſs to Poland, as by the diſ-'membement of that province, the navigation of the Viſtula 'entirely depends upon the king of Pruſſia. By the loſs conſe-'quently of this diſtrict, a fatal blow was given to the trade of 'Poland: for his Pruſſian majeſty has laid ſuch heavy duties up-'on the merchandize paſſing to Dantzick, as greatly to diminiſh 'the commerce of that town, and to transfer a conſiderable por-'tion of it to Memel and Koningſberg.'

It is farther obſerved by Mr. Coxe, that 'Although the limits 'of Poland were ſettled by the treaty of partition, yet the Auſ-'trians and Pruſſians continually extended their frontiers: the 'emperor ſeized upon Caſimir, and even avowed an intention of 'taking poſſeſſion of Cracow and Kaminiec; while Frederick al-'ledged theſe uſurpations as a juſtification for ſimilar encroach-'ments on his part; urging, that he could not, conſiſtent with 'his own ſecurity, ſee the emperor increaſing his dominions with-'out following his example, and aſſuming an equivalent. Ca-'tharine was forced for a time to connive at theſe encroachments; 'but no ſooner was peace eſtabliſhed with the Turks, and the 'rebellion of Pugatcheff cruſhed, than ſhe immediately turned 'her whole attention to Poland; and it is owing to her ſpirited 'remonſtrances, that both Auſtrians and Pruſſians have relinquiſh-'ed their uſurpations, and confined themſelves to the limits marked 'by the treaty of partition.' Travels, ubi ſupra, p. 73, 74.

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lowing paſſages: 'The rights of the republic 'to all her provinces, have every poſſible mark 'of ſolidity and authenticity. An uninterrup- 'ted poſſeſſion of many ages, avowed and main- 'tained by the moſt ſolemn treaties, and par- 'ticularly by thoſe of Velaw and Oliva, gua- 'ranteed by the houſe of Auſtria, by the crowns 'of France, England, Spain, and Sweden; by 'the treaty of 1686, with Ruſſia;—by the ex- 'preſs and recent declarations of this laſt 'power;—by thoſe of Pruſſia in 1674; and, 'laſtly, by treaties with the houſe of Auſtria, 'now in full force and vigour. On theſe 'foundations the rights of the republic are 'grounded. The court of Warſaw contents it- 'ſelf with barely pointing them out at pre- 'ſent, reſerving the right of ſupporting them 'by proofs more ample and particular in time 'and place.

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'WHAT titles can the three powers oppoſe to 'theſe? If they are titles dug out of the obſcu- 'rity of ancient times, of thoſe times of ſudden 'and momentary revolutions, which erected 'and deſtroyed, ceded and reſtored ſtates, in 'the ſhort ſpace of a few months or years; 'theſe titles, if admitted, would re-unite to 'the kingdom of Poland many provinces, which 'formerly belonged to it, but which, for 'many years, have been occupied by the 'very powers who now form pretenſions on 'her.

'BUT

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'But as it is undeniable, that not only 'tranſactions buried in the oblivion of diſtant 'ages, but all tranſactions whatever, are anni- 'hilated by ſubſequent ſtipulations; as all the 'later ſtipulations between Poland and her 'neighbours oppoſe directly the partition they 'would now make, it follows, that the titles, 'on which that partition is founded, cannot 'be admitted, without undermining the rights 'of every ſtate, without ſhaking every throne 'from its foundation.'

'The preſent proceedings of the three courts 'giving the moſt ſerious ſubject of complaint 'to the king, and the duties of his crown not 'permitting him to be ſilent on this occaſion, 'he declares, in the moſt ſolemn manner, 'that he looks upon the actual ſeizure of the 'provinces of Poland, by the courts of Vienna, 'Peterſburgh, and Berlin, as unjuſt, violent, 'and contrary to his lawful rights: he appeals 'to the treaties, and powers guarantees of his 'kingdom and its appurtenances. And, laſtly, 'full of confidence in the juſtice of the Almigh- 'ty, he lays his rights at the feet of the eternal 'throne; and puts his cauſe into the hands of 'the King of kings, the ſupreme Judge of na- 'tions: and, in the full aſſurance of his ſuc- 'cour, he proteſts ſolemnly, and before the 'whole univerſe, againſt every ſtep taken, or 'to be taken, towards the diſmembering of Po- 'land[e].'

[e] Lind's Letters concerning Poland, p. 336, 337, 338, 339. Annual Regiſter for the year 1772, p. 254, 255.

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NOTWITHSTANDING the appeals of the king and people of Poland, againſt the violence and injuſtice of thoſe who had taken poſſeſſion of their dominions, they were at length compelled, as they received no aſſiſtance from any foreign ſtate, to ſubmit to the diſmemberment of the territories of the republic, by the ſuperior power of the three uſurping potentates; and a pretended diet was even held at Warſaw, by which the treaty of partition was ratified. But before that event could take place, the king of Pruſſia publiſhed what he called "letters patent," in which he ſtated his claims, and appointed a day for all the inhabitants of thoſe diſtricts, which he had ſeized, to do homage, and take the oaths of allegiance and fidelity to him, in the preſence of commiſſaries appointed by him for that purpoſe. 'We 'perſuade ourſelves,' ſaid he, that all the 'inhabitants of the ſaid diſtricts will conform 'themſelves to theſe our orders; but if, con'trary to our expectations, any perſon ſhould 'preſume to diſobey the ſame, by neglecting 'to take the oath of allegiance, refuſing to 'ſubmit himſelf to our dominion, and to ac'knowledge us for his maſter [D], or by reſiſting

[D] A very ſhort time was allowed for the inhabitants of theſe diſtricts to do homage to the king of Pruſſia, and to take the oath of allegiance to him: for the letters patent were dated at Berlin on the thirteenth of September, 1772, and the day fixed for doing homage, and taking the oaths, was the twenty-ſeventh of the ſame month. It has been juſtly remarked, that no ſecurity, either

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'ing our troops, and others commiſſioned to 'carry theſe our orders into execution, or, in 'ſhort, ſhould in any wiſe render himſelf guil-'ty, or even SUSPECTED of infidelity and diſo-'bedience, all ſuch may be aſſured, that we 'ſhall proceed againſt them, without exceptiⁿ 'tion of perſons, with all the rigour uſual in 'ſuch caſes[f].'

Of the principles and conduct of the three uſurping powers [E], a more accurate idea may be formed, by attending to the declarations made by each of them, before the partition of Poland had taken place. In the year 1764, the empreſs of Ruſſia tranſmitted to the court of Warſaw an act, ſigned with her own hand, and ſealed with the ſeal of the empire, where-

'ther of perſon or property, was granted by theſe letters patent, 'to thoſe who, from principles of honour, or conſcience, or a dif-'like to foreign laws and a military government, would ſooner 'abandon their country, than be guilty of a violation of the one, 'or ſubmit to a compliance with the other. As little regard was 'ſhewn to the rights of thoſe, who were abſent in other coun-'tries, and who, from the ſhortneſs of time, could not poſſibly 'comply with the terms preſcribed. The ſame diſregard to the 'eſtabliſhed rights of mankind was ſhewn in the Auſtrian ſpeci-'fications.' Annual Regiſter, vol. XV. p. 34.

[f] Lind's Letters concerning Poland, p. 359, 360.

[E] Mr. Coxe obſerves, that 'it is extremely worthy of re-'mark, that of the three partitioning powers, Pruſſia was for-'merly in a ſtate of vaſſalage to the republic; Ruſſia once ſaw 'its capital and throne poſſeſſed by the Poles; and Auſtria, 'ſcarcely a century ago, was indebted to a ſovereign of this 'country for the preſervation of its metropolis, and almoſt for its 'very exiſtence.' Travels, ut ſupra, p. 63, 64.

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"in ſhe declared, "That ſhe did by no means "arrogate either to herſelf, her heirs, and "ſucceſſors, or to her empire, any right or "claim to the diſtricts or territories, which "were actually in poſſeſſion, or ſubject to the "authority of the kingdom of Poland, or great "duchy of Lithuania; but that, on the con-"trary, her ſaid majeſty would guaranty to "the ſaid kingdom of Poland, and duchy of "Lithuania, all the immunities, lands, terri-"tories, and diſtricts, which the ſaid king-"dom and duchy ought by right to poſſeſs, "or did then actually poſſeſs; and would, at "all times, and for ever, maintain them in "the full and free enjoyment thereof, againſt "the attempts of all who ſhould at any time, "or on any pretext, endeavour to diſpoſſeſs "them of the ſame." In the ſame year the king of Pruſſia ſigned, with his own hand, an act, wherein he declared, that "he had no "claims, and formed no pretenſions on Po-"land, or any part thereof; and that he re-"nounced all claims on that kingdom, either "as king of Pruſſia, elector of Brandenburgh, "or duke of Pomerania." In the ſame inſtru-ment he guarantied, in the moſt ſolemn man-ner, the territories and rights of Poland againſt every power whatſoever. The empreſs-queen alſo, in the month of January, 1771, wrote a letter with her own hand to the king of Po-land, in which, after the ſtrongeſt aſſurances of unalterable friendſhip, for him and the re-public, and deſiring that the motions of her

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troops might give no alarm to either, ſhe concluded by aſſuring him, that "ſhe never had "entertained a thought of ſeizing any part of "his dominions, nor would ever ſuffer any "other power to do ſo g."

A MORE flagrant act of injuſtice, oppreſſion, and tyranny, has ſeldom appeared in the hiſtory of mankind, than the partition of Poland. It was unvarniſhed by any ſpecious pretences, or plauſible appearances. The manifeſtoes, iſſued by the uſurping powers upon the occaſion, were too futile, and too palpably ridiculous, to impoſe even on the groſſeſt underſtanding. As to the king of Pruſſia, the partition was a meaſure perfectly ſuitable to the favourite object of his ambition, the aggrandizement of his dominions; and, when this was the point in view, juſtice and injuſtice were trifling conſiderations. Count Hertzberg has aſſerted, that, of theſe claims, that of the king of Pruſſia was the beſt founded h. Of three ſuch claims, it may be difficult to determine, which was the moſt iniquitous. This, however, may be certainly determined, that none of the claims had the leaſt foundation in juſtice, truth, or reaſon. They originated in unprincipled ambition, and were enforced in a manner [F], that ought never to be ſpoken of

g Annual Regiſter, vol. XV. p. 25.

h Mémoire Hiſtorique ſur la derniere année, &c. p. 25.

[F] A cotemporary writer, ſpeaking of the ſtate of Poland at this period, ſays, 'In Poland all the barriers that have been 'erected

of but in terms of indignation, while any ſenſe of vice or virtue ſhall remain among mankind.

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'erected in the various hiſtory of mankind, to protect individuals, 'or to alleviate the calamities to which they are liable, in thoſe 'wars that too frequently ariſe, from the rage, the folly, or the 'ambition of their rulers, have been torn up, and totally over-'thrown.'—No attention is now paid, either to the laws of na-'tions, or to the rights of individuals. The inhabitants, with-'out being abſolved from their natural government, or having 'any ſecurity againſt her indignation, if ſhe were enabled to ſhew 'it, are compelled, under pain of confiſcation, and all the other 'penalties that power can inflict, to renounce their natural alli-'ance, break their former oaths, and take new ones at a ſhort 'warning to ſtrangers. The unhappy nobility, who are the lords 'of the ſoil, are at the ſame time diſperſed throughout Europe, 'having fled for refuge to different countries, to avoid the cala-'mities and horrors of their own; and if they were diſpoſed to 'comply with the conditions, could not poſſibly do it in the time 'preſcribed.' Annual Regiſter for the year 1772, p. 37, 38.

'The eſtates of the princes Czartoriſki, amounting to more 'than 20,000l. ſterling a year, have been confiſcated by the em-'preſs of Ruſſia; though theſe two princes are uncles to the king, 'are poſſeſſed of the higheſt offices under the ſtate, and were 'not acquainted time enough with the neceſſity of their perſonal 'attendance, to have complied, if they had been diſpoſed to 'forfeit their allegiance. All the eſtates of count Kicki, the 'ſtaroſt of Lemburg, have been alſo forfeited, for nobly re-'fuſing to betray his country, by ſwearing allegiance to the em-'preſs-queen.

'Prince Radzivil, who enjoyed ſuch immenſe poſſeſſions in Li-'thuania, that they exceeded thoſe of many ſovereign princes, 'and whoſe anceſtors had raiſed and ſupported conſiderable ar-'mies at their private expence, was one of the many, who, at 'the beginning of theſe troubles, became a dupe to the deſigns 'of Ruſſia; but having been at length too fatally convinced of

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In the letters patent which had been publiſhed by the king of Pruſſia, relative to the diſtricts that he had ſeized in Poland, the cities of Dantzick and Thorn had been particularly excepted from his claims. But he ſoon after ſeized the territories belonging to Dantzick, under pretence of their having been formerly part of Poliſh Pruſſia. They had been alienated and ceded to the city by the kings of Poland; but Frederick declared, that thoſe alienations were void, becauſe having been made at a time, when the province and town were under the ſame prince, the reaſons of making them ceaſed, now that they were fallen under the dominion of different maſters. Upon the ſame pretext, he alſo ſeized upon the little iſland of Holm, and upon two peninſulas that run into the harbour, together with the ſuburbs called Scheidlitz and Scharpau, the diſtrict of Nehring, and the canal called the Fahrwaſſer. He had before ſeized, as parts of Poliſh Pruſſia, an angle of the port called Pwziger-Winkel; the ſuburbs of Dantzick, called Scotland, Hoppenbruch, and Holland; a little town called Stolzemberg, a village called Langfauhr, together with the abbey of Oliva, and all its dependencies[1]. By theſe ſeizures he effec-

'his error, he retired into Germany. The Ruſſians offered to re-'ſtore him every thing, but his plate and his library, if he would 'return and take the oaths; but he bravely anſwered, "That "he was born free, his anceſtors were free, and he would die ſo." Ibid. p. 44, 45.

[1] Annual Regiſter, vol. XV. p. 38. Letters concerning Poland, p. 268, 269.

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tually commanded the city, being maſter of all the heights around it, and of all its gates, works, and harbour [G]. Being alſo eſtabliſhed in poſſeſſion of the ſea-coaſt, he immediately ſeized on the port-duties belonging to Dantzick, and erected a cuſtom-houſe on the harbour, where he laid inſupportable duties, at

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[G] Frederick alſo contrived to gain poſſeſſion of the poſt-office at Dantzick. 'The king of Poland had a revenue ſtill left, 'ariſing from the poſt-office at Dantzick; this miſerable frag-'ment, and ſupport of royalty, could not eſcape the watchful 'attention of the king of Pruſſia. He alſo erected a new poſt-'office at Stoltzemberg; and the merchants of this great and 'commercial city, afforded the new and ridiculous appearance, 'of being obliged to travel out of town to receive or forward 'their letters. By this means he not only ſeized the revenues of 'the old poſt-office, but, what was of infinitely greater impor-'tance, became maſter of the whole public and private correſ-'dence of Dantzick.'—'To complete the ſyſtem of oppreſſion, 'cuſtom-houſes were erected at their very gates, ſo that no per-'ſon could go in or out of town, without being ſearched in 'the ſtricteſt manner.'—'Such was the fate of the great mart 'of the North, the Proteſtant and once noble and free city of 'Dantzick; and ſuch the treatment which it met with from a 'Proteſtant prince and neighbour, who, inſtead of oppreſſing it 'himſelf, was bound by the ſtrongeſt ties to protect it from the 'oppreſſion of others. There is not, perhaps, in hiſtory, a more 'ſtriking inſtance of the futility, if not of the abſurdity of trea-'ties, ſo far as they are conſidered as guarantees, or acts of ſe-'curity, than the fate of Dantzick. Few cities ever exiſted, and 'it is probable that none do at preſent, that have been compre-'hended in ſo many general and particular treaties, whoſe rights 'and liberties have been ſo frequently ſecured, and guarantied 'by ſo many great powers, and by ſuch a long and regular ſuc-'ceſſion of public acts, as that of Dantzick has been. Nor have 'the commercial powers of Europe ſo often armed in the defence 'or ſupport of any other. Annual Regiſter, ut ſupra, p. 40, 41.

his

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his pleaſure, upon all goods, whether exports or imports. The maſters and owners of veſſels having refuſed to pay this arbitrary tribute, thirty-five of their ſhips were ſtopped at once. The foreign miniſters and conſuls applied for redreſs upon this occaſion, but in vain; ſo that all commerce and buſineſs were entirely at a ſtand, till the merchants were at length obliged to comply with the demands that were made upon them, which, however unjuſt, they had no power to oppoſe [k]. The Engliſh merchants had always enjoyed great privileges at Dantzick; and theſe privileges had been repeatedly confirmed to them by treaty: but their privileges were no more regarded than thoſe of other nations, and they experienced on this occaſion great violence and injuſtice from the king of Pruſſia. His conduct with regard to Dantzick continued to be, after this period [H], in

[k] Annual Regiſter, ut ſupra, p. 39.

[H] In a letter written by Mr. Wraxall from Dantzick, and dated Aug 31, 1774, are the following paſſages: 'I croſſed the 'Viſtula at Dirſchaw, a little town moſt beautifully ſituated on 'its banks, and commanding a view of all this fertile country. 'About an Engliſh mile and a half before I got to the town of 'Dantzick, I came to the laſt Pruſſian guard, and entered the 'territory of the republic, which is at preſent diminiſhed on every 'ſide, and inveſted by huſſars and grenadiers of an abſolute prince. 'Freedom, it is true, yet reigns within theſe limits, though nar- 'row, and waves her ſacred banner on the ramparts; but how 'long this may continue, is certainly matter of uncertainty and 'doubt. If the melancholy fate of Elbing or Marienbourg can 'form a preſage; if the unfeeling rapacity ſhewn in the diviſion 'of Poland, its feudal parent, and once its protector; if the ge- 'neral

in a very high degree unjuſt and tyrannical; but he afterwards made ſome relaxation of his claims reſpecting that city. CHAP. XXXIV. A. D. 1773.

THE

'neral train of policy, I ſhould rather ſay of unreſtrained avidity, 'exerciſed by the court of Berlin in Poliſh Pruſſia, enables one to 'determine, its final extinction is not far off. To what happy 'or valuable purpoſes, indeed, can the poſſeſſion of perſonal in-'dependence ſerve, when the vital ſpirit which once ſupplied it is 'fled? Their commerce, their revenues, their riches, are already 'either ſeized on, or burthened with impoſts and duties which muſt 'eventually deſtroy them. The city itſelf, which no king of Po-'land ever dared to enſlave; which has for centuries known the 'ſweets of an equal government and public liberty; now awaits, 'in trembling expectation, the hour of its deſtruction, and im-'plores, perhaps in vain, the powers of Europe to ſave her from 'a new enemy, a ſovereign whoſe claims are equally unexpected 'as unbounded, and who, though apparently reſtrained from 'open violence by political motives, watches only the favourable 'moment when treachery, or intrigue, may put him into poſſeſ-'ſion. As a member of the human race, and more peculiarly as 'enjoying in my own perſon the bleſſings of liberty, I feel for an 'unhappy city, which has once been great and powerful, but 'whoſe glories will probably ſoon be extinguiſhed Moſt of all 'the ſuburbs, which are very populous and extenſive, are alrea-'dy occupied by Pruſſian ſoldiery, who on one ſide are cloſe to 'the very fortifications, a paliſado only ſeparating them from the 'Dantzick guards.'

Mr. Wraxall afterwards, taking notice of his having made inquiries concerning the antiquities of Dantzick, ſays, 'I am in-'debted principally for my information to two gentlemen, to whom 'I have been introduced ſince my arrival, M. le baron Zorn and 'Dr. Wolf, whoſe names I ought not to mention without add-'ing the obligations their politeneſs and readineſs to communicate 'knowledge, has laid me under. The laſt of them is animated 'by the ſpirit of independence worthy HAMPDEN or SYDNEY. 'He reſided ſome years ſince at Warſaw; but quitted it, on ac-'count of the troubles and anarchy which foreign ambition had 'introduced into that capital. He retired to Diſchaw, about

'twenty

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THE Proteſtant city of Thorn was alſo treated by Frederick, in a manner extremely ſimilar

'twenty miles from hence, built himſelf an obſervatory for his 'aſtronomical ſtudies, and remained there till the king of Pruſſia 'ſeized on the town and ſurrounding territory. Unable to bear a 'yoke ſo galling, he left Dirſchaw, and removed to this city; 'and he now declares, that, when it is no longer free, he 'will embark for England, where he has already been, and where 'every fugitive may find an aſylum. Happy, glorious country, 'which can thus extend its parental protection to perſecuted men 'of every kind, and where freedom, almoſt unknown from the 'pole to the equator, holds her peaceful and gentle reign!

'I drove out laſt Sunday to ſee the abbey of Oliva, ſo cele-'brated for the peace concluded in it.—The abbot's palace 'and gardens adjoining, are very elegant; but his revenue, 'which amounted only two years ago to 10,000 ducats (or only '5000l.) per annum, and the lands of the convent, which he en-'joyed in full ſovereignty, are now all ſeized by the king of Pruſ-'ſia, who allows him only 1200 ducats (about 550l.) as a pen-'ſion during life, and about one-fourth of that ſum to keep the 'gardens in order. He is by birth a nobleman, amiable and be-'nevolent in his character, paſt the middle age of life, and uni-'verſally reſpected. Humanity feels for ſuch a man, and exe-'crates the rapacity which has thus reduced him!—But this is 'nothing—this is even generoſity and mercy, compared with other 'ſtories, inconteſtibly authentic, which I have heard here, re-'ſpecting the Poliſh nobles, whoſe eſtates have been confiſcated, 'and their families reduced from a revenue of 100,000 ducats to 'abſolute indigence, by that monarch.' Tour through ſome of the Northern Parts of Europe, p. 334, 345, 350, 352, 366, 361. edit. 1776.

In another letter the ſame ingenious writer ſays, 'On the thir-'teenth of September, 1772, his Pruſſian majeſty's general took 'poſſeſſion of ELBING in the name of his maſter, and drove out 'the Poliſh garriſon of two hundred men, who attempted to make 'ſome defence. The black eagle has now ſupplanted the croſs, 'their antient arms, and appears over every gate of the city.

'They

milar to that of Dantzick; and it was obſervable, that though one of his pretences, for interfering in the affairs of Poland, was, to ſupport the cauſe of the Diſſidents, yet, when the partition had taken place, thoſe privileges which had been claimed by the Diſſidents were not conferred upon them. A variety of new, and arbitrary regulations were impoſed on the inhabitants of the uſurped provinces; and the Jews, of whom there were great numbers in Poland, were treated with ſo much rigour, that many of them quitted the diſtricts that had been ſeized by the Pruſſians and the Auſtrians, and rather choſe to retire into thoſe provinces that had been taken poſſeſſion of by the Ruſſians[1]. To the Jeſuits, in other parts of his dominions, the king of Pruſſia at the preſent period was more favourable. Though

'They already feel the rigour and rapacity of this new govern-'ment, which threatens to ſwallow up all Poliſh Pruſſia, and to ex-'tinguiſh freedom and commerce in one general ruin.' Ibid. p. 327.

Of MARIENBOURG Mr. Wraxall alſo ſpeaks in the following terms, in a letter written from thence, and dated Aug. 24, 1774. 'The city of Marienbourg was formerly the head of a 'league, which comprehended twenty ſeven ſmall towns, all ſi-'tuate in Poliſh Pruſſia, and which held dictines for the regula-'tion of their police, municipal privileges, &c. This little con-'federacy has been long extinct, and the town itſelf ſhared the 'ſame fate as Elbing on the ſame day, the Pruſſian ſoldiers having 'marched in without reſiſtance. There are at this time 1600 of 'them here, which equal the number of inhabitants in the place.' Ibid. p. 339, 340.

[1] Annual Regiſter, vol. XVII. p. 21.

the

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the pope had aboliſhed the order, an aſylum was afforded to them in the Pruſſian dominions; and Frederick remarked, in a letter to his agent at Rome, that by the treaty of Breſlaw, he had guarantied the religion in the ſtate in which it then was; and that he had never met with better prieſts than the Jeſuits. He alſo directed him to inform the pope, that as he was of the claſs of heretics, his holineſs could not grant him a diſpenſation for breaking his word, nor from deviating from the duty of an honeſt man, or a king.

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CHAP. XXXV.

Frederick's attachment to muſic.—Account of his performance on the German flute, at his private concerts at Sans-Souci—Particulars relative to the public operas at Berlin.—The king's mode of living at this period.

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NOTWITHSTANDING the variety of buſineſs in which the king of Pruſſia was engaged, his attention to his army, to his finances, to the general adminiſtration of his government, and to foreign affairs, it was ſtill his conſtant practice to devote ſome part of his time to literature, and to muſic. In the latter, he was both a compoſer and a performer; and of his performance on the German flute, at one of his private concerts, at Sans-Souci, we have an account written by Dr. Burney, who viſited the Pruſſian dominions about that period of the king's life, at which I am now arrived. 'I was 'carried,' ſays that ingenious writer, 'to one of 'the interior apartments of the palace, in 'which the gentlemen of the king's band were 'waiting

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'waiting for his commands. This apartment
'was contiguous to the concert room, where I
'could diſtinctly hear his majeſty practiſing
'*Solfeggi*, on the flute, and exerciſing himſelf
'in difficult paſſages, previouſly to his calling
'in the band. Here I met with M. BENDA [1],
'who was ſo obliging as to introduce me to
'M. QUANTZ.'—'We ſoon began a muſical
'converſation: he told me, that his majeſty
'and ſcholar played no other concertos than
'thoſe which he had expreſsly compoſed for
'his uſe, which amounted to three hundred,
'and theſe he performed in rotation. This
'excluſive attachment to the productions of his
'old maſter, may appear ſomewhat contract-
'ted: however, it implies a conſtancy of
'diſpoſition, but rarely to be found among
'princes. The compoſitions of the two Grauns
'and of Quantz have been in favour with his
'Pruſſian majeſty more than forty years: and,
'if it be true, as many aſſert, that muſic has
'declined and degenerated ſince that time, in
'which the Scarlattis, Vincis, Leos, Pergoleſis,
'and Porporas flouriſhed, as well as the great-
'eſt ſingers that modern times have known, it
'is an indication of a ſound judgment, and of

[1] M. BENDA has been before mentioned, in the firſt volume of this work. He entered into Frederick's ſervice ſeveral years before his acceſſion to the throne, in the year 1732. Dr. Burney ſays, "He can boaſt of having had the honour of accompanying "his majeſty, during the forty years he has been in his ſervice, "in near 50,000 different concerts." Preſent State of Muſic in Germany, ut ſupra, p. 140.

great

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'great diſcernment, in his majeſty, to adhere 'thus firmly to the productions of a period, 'which may be called the Auguſtan age of 'muſic. To ſtem the torrent of caprice and 'faſhion with ſuch unſhaken conſtancy, is 'poſſeſſing a kind of *ſtet ſol*, by which Apollo 'and his ſons are prevented from running riot, 'for changing from good to bad, and from bad 'to worſe.

'THESE reflections, which occurred to me 'while I was converſing with M. Quantz, were 'interrupted by the arrival of a meſſenger 'from the king, commanding the gentlemen 'of his band to attend him in the next room. 'The concert began by a German flute concer-'to, in which his majeſty executed the ſolo 'parts with great preciſion: his *embouchure* 'was clear and even, his finger brilliant, and 'his taſte pure and ſimple. I was much pleaſ-'ed, and even ſurprized, with the neatneſs 'of his execution in the *allegros*, as well as by 'his expreſſion and feeling in the *adagio*: in 'ſhort, his performance ſurpaſſed, in many 'particulars, any thing I had ever heard among '*Dilettanti*, or even profeſſors. His majeſty 'played three long and difficult concertos ſuc-'ceſſively, and all with equal perfection.'

'M. QUANTZ bore no other part in the per-'formance of the concertos of to-night, than 'to give the time with the motion of his hand, 'at the beginning of each movement, except

'now

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'now and then to cry out *bravo!* to his royal 'ſcholar, at the end of the ſolo parts and cloſes; which ſeems to be a privilege allowed to 'no other muſician of the band. The cadences 'which his majeſty made were good, but very 'long and ſtudied. It is eaſy to diſcover, that 'theſe concertos were compoſed at a time, 'when he did not ſo frequently require an 'opportunity of breathing as at preſent; for 'in ſome of the diviſions, which were very 'long and difficult, as well as in the cloſes, he 'was obliged to take his breath, contrary to 'rule, before the paſſages were finiſhed.—'Beſides the three hundred concertos which 'his majeſty plays, in turn, he has nearly as 'many ſolos, which he performs in the like 'rotation. Upwards of a hundred of theſe have 'been compoſed by himſelf, the reſt by M. 'Quantz [b].'

Dr. Burney alſo gives an account of the king's public operas at Berlin. 'His Pruſſian 'majeſty's favourite operas,' ſays he, 'are 'thoſe of his late *maeſtro di capella*, Charles 'Henry Graun, to which he is ſo much 'attached, as to hear unwillingly thoſe of any 'other performer; and the overtures and 'concertos for violins of his brother, the con-'cert maſter, M. Joh. Gottlib Graun, but 'lately deceaſed, are ſtill in high reputation

[a] Preſent State of Muſic in Germany, vol. III. p. 150—155. ſecond edit.

[b] Ibid. p. 161.

'at

'at Berlin, though not of the firſt claſs for taſte 'or invention[c].' After giving an account of the chief ſingers of the ſerious opera at Berlin, at this period, Dr. Burney ſays, 'The king being at 'the whole expence of this opera, the entrance 'is *gratis*, ſo that any one, who is decently dreſt, 'may have admiſſion into the pit. The firſt row 'of boxes is ſet apart for the royal family and 'nobility; the boxes that are even with the pit, 'and thoſe of the ſecond and third row, are 'appropriated to the uſe of the miniſters of 'ſtate, foreign miniſters, and perſons of rank, 'who have offices about the court; and a 'ſtranger of diſtinction, by application to the 'baron Pollnitz, chamberlain, and director of 'public ſpectacles, is ſure of being accommo-'dated with a place in the theatre, according 'to his rank.

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'THE performance of the opera begins at ſix 'o'clock. The king, with the princes, and 'his attendants, are placed in the pit, cloſe to 'the orcheſtra. The queen, the princeſſes and 'other ladies of diſtinction, ſit in the front 'boxes. Her majeſty is ſaluted at her entrance 'into the theatre, and at her departure thence 'by two bands of trumpets and kettle drums 'placed on each ſide the houſe, in the upper 'row of boxes. The king always ſtands behind 'the *maeſtro di capella*, in ſight of the ſcore, 'which he frequently looks at, and indeed

[c] Ibid. p. 98.

'performs

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'performs the part of director-general here, 'as much as of generaliſſimo in the field[a].'

SPEAKING of the general and national ſtyle of muſical compoſition and performance in the Pruſſian dominions, Dr. Burney ſays, 'It 'ſeems at preſent to be formed ſo much upon 'one model, that it precludes all invention and 'genius.' He adds, 'Though the world is ever 'rolling on, moſt of the Berlin muſicians, de- 'feating its motion, have long contrived to 'ſtand ſtill. Upon the whole, my expectations 'from Berlin were not quite anſwered; as I 'did not find that the ſtyle of compoſition, or 'manner of execution, to which his Pruſſian 'majeſty has attached himſelf, fulfilled my 'ideas of perfection. Here, as elſewhere, I 'ſpeak according to my own feelings. How- 'ever, it would be preſumption in me to oppoſe 'my ſingle judgment to that of ſo enlightened 'a monarch, if, luckily mine were not the 'opinion of the greateſt part of Europe: for, 'ſhould it be allowed, that his Pruſſian majeſty 'has fixed upon the Auguſtan age of muſic, it 'does not appear, that he has placed his favour 'upon the beſt compoſers of that age. VINCI, 'PERGOLESI, LEO, FEO, HANDEL, and many 'others, who flouriſhed in the beſt times of 'GRAUN and QUANTZ, I think ſuperior to them 'in taſte and genius.

[a] Preſent State of Muſic in Germany, vol. II. p. 99, 100, 101. at ſupra.

Of

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'On his majeſty's two favourites, the one is languid, and the other frequently common and inſipid; and yet, their names are *religion* at Berlin, and more ſworn by than thoſe of Luther and Calvin. There are, however, ſchiſms in this city, as elſewhere; but hereticks are obliged to keep their opinions to themſelves, while thoſe of the eſtabliſhment may ſpeak out: for though a univerſal toleration prevails here, as to different ſects of Chriſtians, yet, in muſic, whoever dares to profeſs any other tenets than thoſe of GRAUN and QUANTZ, is ſure to be perſecuted. Hence, the muſic of this country is more truly German than that of any other part of the empire: for though there are conſtantly Italian operas here, in carnival time, his Pruſſian majeſty will ſuffer none to be performed but thoſe of Graun, Agricola, or Haſſe, and of this laſt, and beſt, but very few. And, in the opera-houſe, as in the field, his majeſty is ſuch a rigid diſciplinarian, that if a miſtake is made in a ſingle movement or evolution, he immediately marks, and rebukes the offender; and if any of his Italian troops dare to deviate from ſtrict diſcipline, by adding, altering, or diminiſhing a ſingle paſſage in the parts they have to perform, an order is ſent, *de par le Roi*, for them to adhere ſtrictly to the notes written by the compoſer, at their peril. This, when compoſitions are good, and a ſinger is licentious, may be an excellent

 'method;

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'method; but certainly ſhuts out all taſte and 'refinement. So that muſic is truly ſtationary 'in this country, his majeſty allowing no 'more liberty in that, than he does in civil 'matters of government: not contented with 'being ſole monarch of the lives, fortunes, 'and buſineſs of his ſubjects, he even pre-'ſcribes rules to their moſt innocent plea-'ſures[e].'

At this period of Frederick's life, and probably for ſome years before, his mode of living ſeems to have been ſomewhat different, from what it had been previouſly to the commencement of his ſeven years war. He roſe regularly at four in the ſummer, and five in the winter, and attended buſineſs with his miniſters and ſecretaries, with the ſame exactneſs and uniformity as formerly; but he now allowed himſelf a longer time at dinner, and wholly omitted ſuppers. He now generally went to the parade only three times a week, when he exerciſed his guards; but he exerciſed the other regiment at different times; and, at certain ſtated times, had very ſplendid reviews, of all his troops, which were viſited by military men, and perſons of rank, from every part of Europe. On thoſe days when he was not employed with his troops, he was frequently to be ſeen riding through the ſtreets of Potſdam, attended only

[e] Preſent State of Muſic in Germany, vol. II. p. 231—235.

by

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by a ſingle page, and an aid de camp [K]. In this manner he viſited the buildings, which were erecting by his order, and ſaw that every thing was properly executed. In fine weather, it was not an unuſual thing for him to make theſe viſits on foot. He afterwards returned to Sans-Souci, where he found his generals, and ſuch other perſons as he had invited to dine with him. With theſe he walked in the garden till near dinner-time; but, if the weather was bad, their walk was confined to the great gallery. He dined at twelve [L]; and it was generally

[K] 'As the king has never any of the great officers of the 'crown about his perſon, their poſts are merely honorary. His 'treaſurer is an *beyduc*, who can neither read nor write, and who 'ſits upon the box with the coachman, when his majeſty travels; 'although his ſecretaries follow their maſter in a coach. This 'beyduc pays the expences of the kitchen, livery ſtables, &c. 'and likewiſe executes the king's orders with regard to gratuities, 'and other diſburſements.'—When the king travels on horſeback, 'his whole ſuite conſiſts of a page, an equerry, and a groom, 'with a led horſe. This monarch has neither coach nor carriage 'at Sans-Souci, and never gets into a carriage, except in long 'journies.' Obſervations on the Military Eſtabliſhment, &c. of the king of Pruſſia, p. 13, 29, 30.

[L] The author of the "Obſervations on the Military Eſta-"bliſhment, &c of the king of Pruſſia," written during his life-time, ſays, 'that Frederick's dinners, about this period, conſiſted 'of eight diſhes only, excluſively of the ſoup and *bouilli*, and only 'one diſh was ſerved up at a time.'—'Of the eight diſhes,' ſays he, 'four are in the French, and two in the Italian taſte: the 'other two are ſuited to the king's particular palate. They are 'all of them ſucculent, and extremely well cooked, each diſh be-'ing dreſſed by a diſtinct cook, who has a kitchen to himſelf, 'and a ſcullion to aſſiſt him; ſo that the king's table, though far

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generally after three before he quitted his company. When he roſe from table, he withdrew into another apartment, where coffee was ſerved up, and where he found ſuch perſons as he had previouſly ordered to attend him: for nobody came to Sans-Souci without his particular permiſſion, not even his miniſters, or any of the royal family; and the queen had always a ſeparate court [M]. Even foreign miniſters were obliged to apply to the king by letter, whenever they were deſirous of an audience; and ſo was every other perſon who wiſhed to ſpeak to him. When he was diſpoſed

'from being ſumptuous, is very expenſive. The deſert conſiſts 'of three glaſſes of dried ſweetmeats, ſome plates of creams, 'bleaumange, and the like; and ſix of different ſorts of fruit, 'which are always the choiceſt and moſt delicious that can be 'procured; the king being a great epicure with regard to fruit; 'ſo that he has it ſent him from different parts of Europe, al'though his own gardens and hot-houſes produce him excellent 'fruit all the year round. His majeſty eats heartily, and a good 'while: he drinks a bottle of burgundy, a few glaſſes of cham'paign, and now and then, though rarely, a little cordial after 'the French manner. He continues at table till half paſt three, 'and converſes very good humouredly with his company during 'the deſert. None but generals, colonels, and a few other per'ſons, ſuited to the king's taſte, are admitted to theſe private par'ties. Strangers never dine with the king, but when there is a 'court, which does not often happen, and indeed never at Sans'Souci, which is his majeſty's ordinary reſidence.' P. 9, 10.

[M] Dr. Moore ſays, 'His majeſty very ſeldom appears at the 'queen's court, or at any place where women form part of the 'aſſembly.'—'I once ſaid to a lady of this court, that it was a 'pity his majeſty did not love women.' "Conſidering his time "of life," ſaid ſhe, "we could diſpenſe with his love; but it is "hard that he cannot endure us." View of Society and Manners, &c. vol. II. p. 172, 173.

to

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to ſee them, he anſwered their letters [N], and named the day and minute when they were to attend. When no anſwer was ſent, it was equivalent to a refuſal.

At five in the afternoon, he retired to his cloſet, where he read and ſigned the letters which had been written by his ſecretaries, from the directions which he had given them in the morning. In theſe letters, he often made alterations and corrections with his own hand. At ſix he went to the muſic-apartment, in which his concerts were performed, and to which few perſons were admitted, excepting the generals who had apartments at Sans-Souci. His concerts ended at ſeven, after which he either read himſelf, or employed ſome of his attendants, or favourites, to read to him. When he retired to his chamber, he was frequently attended by colonel Quintus Icilius [O], with

[N] 'All buſineſs with the king,' ſays Dr. Moore, 'is tranſacted by letters. Every petition or propoſal muſt be made in 'this form, which is adhered to ſo invariably, as I have been 'aſſured, that if any of his generals wiſhed to promote a cadet 'to the rank of an enſign, he would not venture to make his propoſal in any other manner, even though he had daily opportu- 'nities of converſing with his majeſty.' View of Society and Manners, ut ſupra, p. 237.

[O] Dr. Burney ſays, 'This officer's original name is GUIS- 'CHARD, and that of QUINTUS ICILIUS only his *Nom de* 'Guerre, given to him, in pleaſantry, by his majeſty, who, when 'he conferred upon him a command in a regiment, haſtily raiſed 'and collected from the refuſe of all nations, during the heat of 'the

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with whom he converſed till he fell aſleep [P]. He had no guard in the day at Sans-Souci; but,

'the laſt war, honoured him with the appellation of the command-
'er of Cæſar's tenth legion, a name which has ſince been adopted
'by the whole Pruſſian nation.' Preſent State of Muſic in Germany, ut ſupra, p. 143.

Colonel Quintus, or Guiſchard, was well ſkilled in the learned languages, and in ſeveral of the modern; but was chiefly diſtinguiſhed for his profound knowledge in the tactics of the antients.

[P] It appears, that it was the king's practice to ſettle every night in his chamber, before he went to ſleep, the bill of fare for the next day's dinner. The author of "Obſervations on the Mi-
"litary Eſtabliſhment, &c. of the king of Pruſſia," who ſeems to have had very accurate information reſpecting Frederick's private life, after taking notice of his ſpending ſome time every evening in reading, ſays, 'After which he retires to his bed-chamber, where
'he finds colonel Quintus, with whom he converſes in a familiar
'manner. One of his cooks (for he has no clerk of the kitchen
'at Sans-Souci) then brings him in a bill of fare for the next day's
'dinner, with the price of each diſh marked in the margin. The
'king ſtrikes out what he does not like, and orders ſomething elſe
'in its ſtead, exclaiming at the ſame time againſt the roguery of his
'domeſtics, but after all leaves the prices as he finds them. At
'the ſame time, he receives the account of his ſtables, and of the
'expences of his houſehold, kitchen, &c. He puts them all by
'in order, and ſettles them once a month, when he makes no lit-
'tle noiſe, if they happen to be more than uſual. But notwith-
'ſtanding all this diſturbance, he makes no deduction, but pays
'the whole of the bills. As ſoon as theſe domeſtic matters are
'ſettled, his majeſty undreſſes himſelf, gets into bed, and conti-
'nues to joke with Quintus till he drops aſleep. The colonel
'then walks gently out of the room on tip-toe, ſhuts the door
'after him, and returns to Potſdam.' P. 12, 13.

The ſame writer has alſo related ſome farther particulars concerning the king and colonel Quintus. 'His Pruſſian majeſty,'

ſays

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, at six in the evening, four men were ſent m Potſdam, with a corporal, who placed a centinel

he,' is much inclined to joke with the perſons he eſteems, t he ſometimes carries his pleaſantry rather too far. The moſt quent object of the king's wit is colonel Quintus. This ſome- es proves the ſource of little animoſities, which ſoon ſubſide in.'—'The colonel is a man of merit, and a good officer. has publiſhed ſeveral military works in French, and, among ers, in 1758, his Military Memoirs concerning the Greeks Romans, in two volumes, quarto, with plans and figures. is valuable performance, after paſſing through three editi- , has been ſeverely criticiſed in a late publication by count oos, a nobleman of great abilities in tactics; and colonel intus had the mortification to find himſelf obliged to defend ſelf, after having enjoyed a ten years triumph. The king's ark to him on this ſubject galled him more than any thing . As this prince was riſing from table one day, Quintus ueſted his permiſſion to print a new work; "I grant it to you ith all my heart," replied his majeſty, "but I would adviſe u to aſk the conſent of count Loloos." Two days after s, the 'king contrived at dinner to turn the converſation on commanders of his light troops in the laſt war; and ob- ved at the ſame time, with much pleaſantry, that theſe ops had been headed only by cut-purſes.' "As for Quin- s," added his majeſty, "he has found it difficult to leave off oſe lucrative habits, and for ſome years I was obliged to keep good eye on my purſeand my jewels when he was near me." ie colonel, piqued at this obſervation, replied, "It is ie, ſire, that I have robbed in my time, but it was by your ders, and the greateſt part of the booty fell to your ſhare." ie king pretended not to hear this reply, and immediately ned the converſation to ſome other ſubject. Quintus, how- r, withdrew in a pet to Potſdam, and omitted to wait on king in his bed-chamber, as he had been accuſtomed to do. ie monarch, piqued in his turn at this ſtudied neglect, ſent no invitation to dinner, and Quintus remained at Potſdam.

'Eight

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centinel at the door of the palace. This guard returned to Potſdam at four in the morning.

AMONG thoſe perſons, with whom Frederick converſed the moſt familiarly about this period, was the abbé Baſtiani, who had an apartment in the palace. He was an Italian by birth, and poſſeſſed of ſo much wit, that the king was fond of his company. One day, after dinner, Frederick, being in a gay humour, ſaid to Baſtiani, "When you ſhall obtain the tiara, "which your exemplary piety muſt one day "procure you, how will you receive me, when "I arrive at Rome to pay my duty to your holi-

'Eight or ten days paſſed in this manner, and the breach was 'ſuppoſed to be irreparable, when the king began to relent, but 'at the ſame time was unwilling to ſeem to make the firſt overture 'for a reconciliation. He therefore diſpatched one of his equeries 'to Quintus, with orders to aſk the colonel how it had happen-'ed, that in ten days he had not had time to give him an account 'of the new work he had put into his hands? Quintus, knowing 'he had received no ſuch commiſſion from his majeſty, ſent for 'anſwer that his majeſty muſt certainly be miſtaken. The king 'repeated the meſſage, and the colonel repaired to the bed-'chamber, where his majeſty converſed with him about news, 'literature, &c. without taking any notice of what had paſſed; 'and the next day he was invited to the king's table as uſual.' Obſervations, &c. p. 26—29.

Notwithſtanding the familiarity between the king and colonel Quintus, he is ſaid not to have been very liberal to him in his life time; but, after the colonel's death, he preſented his widow with ſix thouſand rix-dollars, and gave her an annual penſion of four hundred rix-dollars. He alſo purchaſed her huſband's library for twelve thouſand rix-dollars, which was ſuppoſed to be much more than it was worth. Anecdotes and Characteriſtics of Frederick the Great, vol. I. p. 81.

"neſs?

ſtrangeſs? "I will immediately give orders," replied the abbé, with great readineſs, "*Qu'on faſſe entrer l'aigle noir,—qu'il me couvre de ſes ailes, mais—qu'il m'épargne de ſon bec!*".

[f] Moore's View of Society and Manners, &c. ut ſupra, p. 239.

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Conteſt between Frederick and the court of Vienna, concerning the ſucceſſion to the electorate of Bavaria.—Manifeſto publiſhed by him at Berlin on that ſubject.—His ſpeech to his general officers, previouſly to his ſetting out for Sileſia.—Peace of Teſchen.—The king writes a panegyric on Voltaire.—Caſe of the miller Arnold.—Frederick interferes in the affairs of Holland, in ſupport of the ſtadtholder.

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AT the cloſe of the year 1777, died Maximilian Joſeph, elector of Bavaria; and this event gave riſe to a new conteſt between the king of Pruſſia and the court of Vienna. The death of this prince, without iſſue, totally extinguiſhed the male Guelielmine, or Ludovician line of Bavaria, which had been in poſſeſſion of that duchy for near five hundred years. Maximilian Joſeph was ſucceeded, both in the electoral dignity, and his dominions at large, by his general heir, Charles Theodore, the elector palatine of the Rhine. At the time of his acceſſion to the Bavarian dominions, this prince was in the fifty-fourth year of his age, and having no iſſue, the large poſſeſſions of the double electorate, with the dignity appertaining to one, were in the expectation of his apparent heir, the duke of Deuxponts, who was the neareſt relation in the male palatine line.

line. The electreſs-dowager of Saxony, as only ſiſter, and as the neareſt relation and heir of the late elector of Bavaria, alſo claimed a ſo'e right in the ſucceſſion to all the allodial eſtates in that duchy. The courſe of the ſucceſſion to Bavaria had been ſettled for ages, was univerſally known, and had even been prepared for by the late prince; the new elector, therefore, found no difficulty in taking poſſeſſion of that duchy with the Upper Palatinate, and of receiving the willing homage of his new ſubjects. But he ſoon met with a very formidable claimant to a great part of his new dominions. He had ſcarcely arrived in his new capital of Munich, before the Auſtrian troops, who had been evidently ſtationed on the frontiers for that purpoſe, and had only waited for an account of the late elector's death, poured on all ſides into the Lower Bavaria, and ſeized on every place to which they came. In the mean time, another ſtrong body advanced on the ſide of Egra to the Upper Palatinate, where the regency in vain pleaded the laws of the empire, and rights of ſovereignty, againſt the entrance of foreign troops [a].

A CLAIM had been ſet up, in behalf of the empreſs-queen, to a great part of the electorate of Bavaria; which was founded upon obſolete titles, of more than three hundred years ſtanding, and which appear to have been very ill grounded. But the Auſtrian claim, however

[a] Annual Regiſter, vol. XXI. p. 4, 5.

defective

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defective in reaſon or in juſtice, was ſupported by an army of ſixty thouſand men. The new elector, therefore, incapable of oppoſing ſo great a force, and unwilling to engage in a war in the decline of life, entered into a treaty with the miniſters of the empreſs-queen; and a convention was accordingly concluded and ratified, before the middle of January, 1778, between the court of Vienna and the elector, by which the latter, in order to keep part of his new poſſeſſions, gave up the better half of them, and left claims open which might have ſwallowed a great part of the remainder[b]. This arrangement, however, naturally gave great umbrage to the duke of Deuxponts, who formally proteſted againſt the convention between the court of Vienna, and the new elector of Bavaria; and called upon the princes and ſtates that compoſe the diet of the empire, both in their original character, and as guarantees of the treaty of Weſtphalia, to interfere in the preſervation of his rights.

At this period the king of Pruſſia thought proper to enter into the conteſt; and as he had no common intereſt, as in the caſe of the partition of Poland, to tolerate acts of injuſtice in favour of the houſe of Auſtria, he undertook the ſupport of the duke of Deuxponts, and the defence of the rights of the Germanic body. Several public acts and memorials were iſſued upon the occaſion by the courts of Vienna and

[b] Annual Regiſter, ut ſupra.

Berlin,

Berlin, and ſundry efforts were made to effectuate an amicable accommodation. But the court of Vienna behaved with much haughtineſs, and theſe efforts were not ſucceſsful. At length, on the ſeventh of July, 1778, Frederick publiſhed a manifeſto at Berlin, which contained the following paſſages: 'His majeſty 'the king of Pruſſia was in hopes, ever ſince the 'treaty of peace of Hubertſbourg, to live in 'conſtant harmony with the court of Vienna, 'and with that view his majeſty has employed 'all poſſible means to cultivate the friendſhip 'and affection of their imperial and royal ma-'jeſties the emperor, and the empreſs-queen of 'Hungary. It is, therefore, with the greateſt 'grief and concern, that his majeſty finds this 'good harmony diſturbed, by the unexpected 'diſmemberment of the electorate of Bavaria, 'undertaken by the court of Vienna, after the 'death of the late elector of that country. His 'majeſty could not avoid immediately conſi-'dering theſe proceedings as not only directly 'oppoſite to all juſtice, and the known rights 'of the neareſt heirs to the dominions and allo-'dials of Bavaria; but alſo as contrary to the 'ſafety, liberty [Q], laws, and conſtitution of 'the

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[Q] In the public memorials and manifeſtoes of the German princes, and particularly in thoſe of the late king of Pruſſia, much was often ſaid concerning the preſervation of the liberties of the Germanic body. But it muſt be remembered, that, when this phraſe was made uſe of, the liberties of the great body of the

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'the German empire; and, therefore, cauſed 'ſeveral well-grounded, friendly, and repeated 'repreſentations to be made to their imperial 'majeſties, in order to engage them to deſiſt 'from their undertaking.' After ſtating how ineffectual theſe negociations with the court of Vienna had proved, and pointing out the injuſtice of the Auſtrian claims, he obſerves, that he thought himſelf in duty bound, as a guarantee of the treaty of Weſtphalia, and as an elector and prince of the empire, to oppoſe the diſmemberment of one of the moſt conſiderable electorates of Germany, and to aſſiſt, with all poſſible zeal, the parties thereby oppreſſed. He adds, 'His majeſty declares, that 'his ſole object in this meaſure is to ſupport 'the laws and conſtitution of the German em-'pire, which have been injured in the moſt 'arbitrary manner by the very prince, who, 'from his quality as chief of the empire, ought 'to have been their moſt ſtrenuous protector; 'to aſſiſt thoſe princes, his friends and allies, 'who are thereby injured and oppreſſed; and 'that he has no other particular views therein, 'than his own ſecurity, and the maintenance 'of the ſyſtem of the empire[s].

the common people of Germany, were in no reſpect the object of conſideration. The preſervation of the liberties of Germany means, the preſervation of the rights and privileges of the ſeveral princes and ſtates of the empire, in oppoſition to the power and prerogative of the emperor.

[s] Annual Regiſter, ut ſupra, p. 308—311.

BEFORE

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BEFORE the publication of this manifeſto, the king of Pruſſia had made great military preparations; and after a review, in the ſame month, of that part of his army, which lay in the neighbourhood of Berlin, and which was then, as well as himſelf, on the point of ſetting out for Sileſia, he made the following ſpeech to all the general officers preſent, among whom were his brothers Henry and Ferdinand, and prince Ferdinand of Brunſwick:

'Gentlemen,

'Moſt of us have ſerved together from our 'earlieſt days, and are grown grey in the ſer- 'vice of our country. We, conſequently, know 'each other perfectly well. We have borne 'our ſhare in the fatigues and dangers of war; 'and I make no doubt but that you are as un- 'willing to ſhed blood as I am. But the dan- 'gers, which now threaten our country, not 'only render it a duty, but put us under an 'indiſpenſable neceſſity, to employ the moſt 'ſpeedy and efficacious meaſures, to diſpel the 'ſtorm which now ſeems ready to break over 'our heads. To effectuate theſe important 'purpoſes, I rely upon that zeal for my ſervice, 'and that attachment to my perſon, which you 'have always expreſſed, and which I never yet 'failed to experience at your hands: and you 'may reſt aſſured, gentlemen, that I ſhall ever 'acknowledge, with an heart-felt ſatisfaction, 'the ſervices that I am ſure you will render to

'your

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'your king and country. But let me intreat 'you never to loſe ſight of humanity, even 'when your enemies are in your power; and 'to cauſe the moſt exact diſcipline to be ob'ſerved by the troops under your command. 'As to my own part, I wiſh not to travel like 'a king; rich and gaudy equipages have no 'charms for me; but, infirm as I now am, I 'cannot travel as I formerly did, when in the 'vigour of youth. I ſhall be obliged to uſe a 'poſt-chaiſe. I leave you at liberty to do the 'ſame: but, in the day of battle, you ſhall ſee 'me on horſe-back; and I hope that my ge'nerals will not fail, in that, to imitate their 'king.'

THE Auſtrian army was commanded by the emperor in perſon; and it is ſaid, that when Frederick ſet off from Berlin, he ſent the following ſhort note to one of his principal miniſters of ſtate; 'You will find money 'enough in the treaſury for the public ſup'plies. I truſt in God, that I ſhall not be long 'abſent, as I am only gone on a ſmall excur'ſion, in order to teach a young gentleman 'in the neighbourhood his military exerciſe.' The campaign, however, was extended to a greater length than the king expected; for though the emperor had not himſelf had much experience in the art of war, he was aſſiſted by

[a] Annual Regiſter, vol. XXI. p. 21, 177. Lamb's Characteriſtic Anecdotes of Frederick II. late King of Pruſſia, p. 222, 223, 224. [b] Ibid. p. 171.

general

general Laudohn, and other able generals, and had a moſt formidable army under his command. The Pruſſian army was alſo very numerous, and both armies were furniſhed with a great and unuſual quantity of artillery. Before the Pruſſian troops had quitted their own country, the king ordered a preſent of money to all the officers, riſing in due proportions from the enſigns to the generals, as an aſſiſtance towards their camp-equipage, and other charges incident to taking the field; and the ſoldiers were alſo gratified by an augmentation of one-fourth, both in their pay and proviſions, from the commencement of actual ſervice [f].

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The king of Pruſſia having paſſed through Sileſia, then penetrated the mountains of Bohemia, and having ſeized the city, caſtle, and magazines of Nachod, in the confines of that kingdom, without oppoſition, he fixed his headquarters there in the month of July, whilſt he waited for the arrival, and made roads acroſs the mountains to facilitate the paſſage, of his heavy artillery and ſtores. In the mean time, the emperor had taken an advantageous poſt at Koningſgratz, where his army was very ſtrongly encamped. Several ſubſequent movements were made by theſe great armies; but no action of any conſequence took place; and a negociation was ſet on foot, which at length ended in the peace of Teſchen, which was concluded on the thirteenth of May, 1779. By

[f] Annual Regiſter, ut ſupra, p. 21.

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that treaty it was agreed, that the court of Vienna ſhould renounce its pretenſions to Bavaria, retaining only the diſtrict of Burghauſen; that ſix millions of florins ſhould be paid to the elector of Saxony as an equivalent; and that a recognition ſhould be made of the right of the houſe of Brandenburgh to re-unite the margraviates of Franconia to their electoral dominions, after the extinction of the reigning family[a]. By this treaty the late convention between the court of Vienna and the elector palatine was alſo totally annulled, and ſatisfaction was agreed to be made to the duke of Deuxponts.

During the courſe of this ſhort war, the king had at one time his head-quarters at Frankenſtein, in Upper Sileſia. He lodged in the houſe of a widow, far advanced in years, who, on his arrival, ſhewed him into her beſt apartment, in which were portraits of her ſix ſons, who had all fallen in battle, and in the king's ſervice. Frederick ſeemed to view theſe pictures with ſome emotion; and fixing his attention more particularly upon one of them, he ſaid, "Had this brave officer lived, he would "now have been one of my generals." He then inquired into the circumſtances of the family, and hearing that the lady had ſtill two daughters unprovided for, he made her a preſent of ſix thouſand ducats[b].

[a] Mémoire Hiſtorique ſur la dernière année, &c. par le comte de Hertzberg, p. 27.

[b] Latrobe's Characteriſtic Anecdotes of Frederick II. late king of Pruſſia, p. 169, 170.

In

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In the year 1778, Voltaire died at Paris; and the king of Pruſſia thereupon wrote a panegyric on this celebrated man, which was read at an extraordinary meeting of the royal academy of ſciences and belles lettres at Berlin, on the twenty-ſixth of November in that year. In this piece, the royal author makes the following obſervations: 'It has ever been 'the cuſtom of wiſe and poliſhed nations, to 'reſpect men of an uncommon and elevated 'genius while alive, and to diſtinguiſh them 'after death by peculiar honours. The luſtre 'of extraordinary abilities reflects glory on the 'countries which produce them. The firſt 'legiſlators, who taught mankind to live in 'ſociety; the firſt heroes, who defended their 'fellow citizens; the philoſophers, who, pe'netrating the depths of nature, laid open the 'ſources of truth; the poets, who tranſmit'ted the ſplendid actions of their contempora'ries to future ages: all theſe have ever been 'regarded as beings ſuperior to the human 'ſpecies, and diſtinguiſhed by the peculiar 'favour of the gods. Hence the altars erected 'to Socrates, the deification of Hercules, the 'honours conferred on Orpheus by the united 'voice of Greece, and the long conteſted dif'pute among the ſeven cities which claimed 'the birth of Homer. The Athenian people, 'whoſe education was peculiarly refined, re'tained the whole Iliad in their memories,

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'and celebrated, with tranſports of pleaſure, 'the glory of their antient heroes, preſerved 'in that immortal poem. The talents of 'Sophocles, who carried off the palm of tra- 'gedy, were likewiſe highly reſpected; and he 'was inveſted with the moſt honourable em- 'ployments that his countrymen had it in their 'power to confer. It is well known how much 'Æſchines, Pericles, and Demoſthenes were 'eſteemed.'—The works of Xenophon and 'Thucydides were admired even by the vul- 'gar; and the meaneſt citizen ſeemed to ſhare 'the renown of thoſe elevated geniuſſes, 'who raiſed the name of GREECE above that of 'every country in the univerſe.

'ROME, ſoon after, furniſhed a ſimilar ſpec- 'tacle to the world. The philoſophy and elo- 'quence of Cicero raiſed him to the higheſt 'honours. The ſhort life of Lucretius prevent- 'ed him from enjoying his riſing fame; but 'Virgil and Horace obtained the ſuffrage of 'imperial Rome, were admitted to the fami- 'liarity of Auguſtus, and ſhared the rewards 'which that artful tyrant laviſhed on thoſe who 'concealed his vices, by celebrating the glory 'and felicity of his reign.'—'Such is the reſpect 'which all ages have paid to thoſe happy 'geniuſſes, who ſeem to ennoble the human 'ſpecies, and whoſe writings conſole us for the 'miſeries of human life! It is reaſonable, then, 'that we ſhould pay to the manes of that great 'man, whoſe loſs is deplored by Europe, the tri-

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'bute of admiration and panegyric to which his merit has ſo juſtly entitled him [1].' CHAP. XXXVI

FREDERICK afterwards proceeds to take a view of VOLTAIRE's life and writings. After mentioning his being confined in his youth in the Baſtile, he ſays, 'The unworthy and opprobrious treatment, which he ſuffered in his native country, excited his indignation; and, ſoon after his releaſe from the Baſtile, he took refuge in England, where he was received moſt favourably by the public, and where his diſtinguiſhed merit ſoon gained him many admirers. At London he finiſhed the Henriade, which he publiſhed in that city, under the title of the Poem of the League. VOLTAIRE, who knew how to make the moſt of every ſituation, principally applied himſelf, during his reſidence in London, to the ſtudy of philoſophy. The moſt judicious and profound philoſophers then flouriſhed in England. VOLTAIRE got hold of the thread, which had conducted the circumſpect LOCKE in the labyrinth of metaphyſics. He reſtrained the impetuoſity of his fancy, and ſubjected it to the laborious calculations of the immortal NEWTON. He made the diſcoveries of that great philoſopher his own, and explained his ſyſtem with ſuch elegant ſimplicity, as made

[1] The Panegyric of Voltaire, written by the king of Pruſſia, and tranſlated from the French, 8vo. Lond. 1779, p. 5—10.

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'it univerſally underſtood. Before this time 'M. de Fontenelle was the only philoſopher 'who had ſcattered flowers on the dryneſs of 'aſtronomy, and rendered this ſcience fit to 'amuſe the leiſure of the fair-ſex. The Eng-'liſh were flattered with finding a Frenchman, 'who, not ſatisfied with admiring the works of 'their philoſophers, tranſlated them into his 'own tongue. The moſt illuſtrious characters 'in London were fond of his ſociety; never 'did any ſtranger meet with ſuch diſtinguiſhed 'favours; yet theſe, how flattering ſoever to 'his ſelf-love, could not extinguiſh the love of 'his country, which carried him back into 'France. The Pariſians, enlightened by the 'ideas which ſo learned and profound a nation 'entertained of our young author, began to 'ſuſpect that their city had produced a great 'man. Then appeared his letters on the Eng-'liſh Nation; a work in which the author 'deſcribes, with bold and rapid ſtrokes, the 'manners, the arts, the religion, and the 'government of that people. The tragedy of 'Brutus, fitted to pleaſe a nation of freemen, 'followed ſoon after, as well as that of Mar-'iana, and a number of other pieces [k].'

THE king afterwards mentions the death of madame du Chatelet, and Voltaire's invitation to the court of Berlin; but paſſes very ſlightly over the cauſes of his quitting the Pruſſian dominions. He obſerves, that while Vol-

[k] Panegyric of Voltaire, ut ſupra, p. 14—17.

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taire 'was yet employing every effort of his 'reaſon to check the violence of his grief, he 'was called to the court of Pruſſia. The king, 'who had ſeen him in the year 1740, wiſhed 'to have in his dominions a man of ſo uncom-'mon and ſo exalted a genius. In 1752, he 'appeared at Berlin. His converſation was as 'agreeable as it was inſtructive. His know-'ledge was immenſe; his imagination equally 'brilliant and fertile; and his wit always rea-'dy. He embelliſhed every ſubject by the 'graces of his fancy; and was, in one word, 'the delight of every ſociety. An unfortunate 'quarrel, which aroſe between him and M. 'de Maupertuis, divided two learned men, 'who were made to love, and not to hate one 'another; and the war, which broke out in '1756, made him take the reſolution of fixing 'his reſidence in Switzerland. He viſited Ge-'neva, and afterwards Lauſanne, and at length 'acquired the delicious diſtrict of Ferney, 'where he eſtabliſhed his abode[1].'

After entering into a diſtinct enumeration of many of Voltaire's pieces, and ſpeaking of his various and extenſive abilities, Frederick ſays, 'Such a diverſity of talents, and ſuch a 'variety of knowledge, united in the ſame 'man, affect the readers with ſurprize, mixed 'with admiration. Call to remembrance, gen-

[1] Ibid. 21, 22.

'tlemen,

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'tlemen, the lives of the great men of anti-
'quity, whoſe names are handed down to later
'ages. You will find, that each of them con-
'fined his talents to one particular art. Arif-
'totle and Plato were philoſophers; Æſchines
'and Demoſthenes, orators; Homer, an epic
'poet; Sophocles wrote tragedies; Anacreon,
'ſongs; Thucydides and Xenophon, hiſtories.
'In the ſame manner, among the Romans,
'Virgil, Horace, Ovid, Lucretius, were poets;
'Livy and Varro, hiſtorians; Craſſus, and the
'elder Antony attended only to their plead-
'ings. CICERO, that eloquent conſul, the
'guardian and father of his country, is the
'only Roman who poſſeſſed the whole compaſs
'of literary attainments. He joined to that
'commanding eloquence, which rendered him
'ſuperior to all his contemporaries, a deep
'knowledge of the philoſophy ſtudied in an-
'cient times; as is evident from his Tuſculan
'Queſtions, his admirable Treatiſe on the
'Nature of the gods, and Books of Offices,
'which contain, perhaps, the beſt ſyſtem of
'morality which we have ſeen to this day.
'CICERO was likewiſe a poet. He tranſlated
'into Latin, the verſes of Aratus; and it is
'believed, that his corrections much improved
'the philoſophical poem of Lucretius. It is
'neceſſary, therefore, to run over ſeventeen
'centuries, before we can find, in that im-
'menſe multitude which compoſes the human
'ſpecies, a ſingle man fit to be compared with

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'our Author. It may be ſaid, if I may be allowed ſo to expreſs myſelf, that VOLTAIRE alone was equal to a whole Academy. In ſome of his writings we recognize Bayle, armed with all the arguments of logic: in others we ſeem to read Thucydides. Here he is a philoſopher, prying into the ſecrets of nature; there a metaphyſician, ſupported by analogy and experience, following, with meaſured ſteps, the very track of Locke. In other performances you find the rival of Sophocles: there he aſſumes the comic maſk; but the elevation of his genius can hardly deſcend to an equality with Terence and Moliere. Soon you ſee him mount on fiery Pegaſus, who, extending his wings, carries him to the top of Helicon, where the god of the Muſes adjudges him his place between Homer and Virgil[m].'

It is certain, that the king of Pruſſia was extremely partial to Voltaire; but it is equally certain, that this moſt ſingular man poſſeſſed very extraordinary abilities. Perhaps no author ever acquired, in his own time, ſuch great and general celebrity. The univerſality of his talents excited aſtoniſhment; and the keenneſs of his wit, the fertility of his genius, and the variety of his productions, continually excited the attention of the literary world, throughout all Europe. In early youth he ap-

[m] Panegyric of Voltaire, ut ſupra, p. 38—41.

pears

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pears to have been prejudiced againſt revealed religion [R]; and there is no reaſon to believe, that, at any period of his life, he ever examined its evidences with any degree of accuracy or candour. In his own writings, he gave himſelf little concern about the fairneſs of his reaſonings, or the accuracy of his citations; and he often treated the moſt intereſting and important ſubjects with a very indecent and cenſurable levity. He appeared to have an ex-

[R] Very early pains appear to have been taken, to infuſe into the mind of Voltaire a diſlike to revealed religion. We are informed by the marquis de Villette, that the abbé de Châteauneuf was Voltaire's god-father, and his firſt inſtructor. This nobleman alſo ſays, that Ninon de l'Enclos one day aſked the abbé de Châteauneuf after his god-ſon: "My dear friend," replied the abbé, "he has been twice chriſtened; but you would not be-"lieve it; for, though he is only three years old, he knows all "the Moïſade by heart." The Moïſade was a poem intended to ſhew, that the Moſaic diſpenſation had no divine origin. It appears, that Voltaire was twice baptized. He was baptized as ſoon as he was born, becauſe it was not expected that he would live; and was afterwards baptized again by another prieſt, who was not acquainted with what had been done before. At his birth, we are told, that he ſcarcely breathed. 'He was left to 'the care of a nurſe, who, during many months, came down 'every morning to the mother, to acquaint her, that the child 'was at the point of death; and, for a long time, they had no 'hopes of preſerving its life. Two perſons intereſted themſelves 'very much in this child's welfare. One was monſieur de Roche-'brune, of an ancient and noble family of le Haute-Auvergne: 'the other was the abbé de Châteauneuf, a very well informed 'man, of a lively diſpoſition, and very agreeable turn of mind. 'His behaviour was that of a man, who ſubjects himſelf to no 'reſtraint but that of decorum. He was the friend of Chaulieu, 'and of the princes de Vendome and de Conti. He lived in in-'timacy with Ninon de l'Enclos, and was the laſt perſon ſhe 'loved.' Life of Voltaire, tranſlated by Mr. Monke, p. 11.

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treme ſolicitude, to propagate thoſe principles of ſcepticiſm and infidelity, by which no man, as an individual, is made happier or better; which are injurious to the intereſts of ſociety in general; and which are equally unfavourable to the dignity, and to the felicity of human beings. But whatever the demerit of VOLTAIRE in other reſpects might be, he was undoubtedly entitled to great commendation, for the zeal with which he conſtantly defended the great principles of religious toleration. As his writings were read, with avidity, throughout every part of Europe, they appear in this view to have been productive of very important and beneficial effects. He had alſo great merit in expoſing the haſty, erroneous, and unjuſt deciſions, which too frequently took place in the French courts of judicature; in ſundry inſtances he nobly diſtinguiſhed himſelf as the defender of oppreſſed innocence; and he exhibited, on various occaſions, great humanity and generoſity [s].

But

[s] FRANCIS MARIA AROUET DE VOLTAIRE was born at Paris on the 20th of November, 1764. His father, Francis Arouet, was a reſpectable notary, a treaſurer to the chamber of accounts at Paris. He was a man of letters, and his houſe was much frequented by literary men. Voltaire gave ſuch early indications of an uncommon genius, and of literary talents, that he was ſaid to have made verſes almoſt in his cradle. At ten years of age, he was ſent to the college of Louis le Grand in Paris, which was under the direction of the Jeſuits. His academical exerciſes were greatly admired; and the celebrated Ninon de l'Enclos left him, by will, 2000 livres, to purchaſe books. On his

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But to return to the king of Pruſſia. At the cloſe of the year 1779, an account was publiſhed,

his leaving college, he was preſſed by his father to engage in ſome profeſſion. "I chooſe no other," ſaid Voltaire, "than that of "a man of letters." With this anſwer his father was not pleaſed, and he ſent him for ſome time to ſtudy the law; but he could not be prevailed upon to engage in that profeſſion. His propenſity to ſatire was frequently manifeſted even in his youth, and when he was about twenty years of age, he was impriſoned in the Baſtile, on ſuſpicion of having written a poem againſt the government. When he had been confined almoſt a year, he was ſet at liberty; and afterwards waited upon the duke of Orleans, then regent of France, to return thanks for his deliverance. On that account the duke ſaid to him, "Be wiſe, and I will take "care of you." "I am infinitely obliged to your royal high- "neſs," replied Voltaire; "but I beſeech you not to trouble "yourſelf, in future, about my board or lodging."

He afterwards publiſhed ſeveral pieces at Paris; and he went to England in the year 1725, where he was well received, and continued about three years. He publiſhed his HENRIADE at London, by ſubſcription, in the year 1726; and the ſubſcription is ſaid to have produced him more than ſix thouſand pounds. On his return to France, he placed the money, which he carried with him from England, in a lottery, eſtabliſhed by M. Deſfortes, comptroller-general of the finances, by which he was a great gainer; and this laid the foundation of that fortune, which afterwards enabled him to live with ſo much ſplendour at Ferney.

His tragedy of BRUTUS was exhibited at Paris in 1730, but did not meet with a very favourable reception. The king of Pruſſia obſerves, that "it was thought that BRUTUS was more "adapted to the theatre of London, than to that of Paris, becauſe "a father, who ſhould condemn his ſon to death in cold blood, "would, in France, be regarded as a barbarian; but, in Eng- "land, a conſul ſacrificing his own blood to the liberty of his "country, is conſidered as a God." He alſo publiſhed his HISTORY OF CHARLES XII. his tragedy of ZAIRA, which

was

liſhed, under Frederick's own direction, of the caſe of the miller Arnold; an affair which excited much attention, and which was much canvaſſed, throughout the Pruſſian dominions.

was received with great applauſe, and his LETTERS PHILOSOPHIQUES. But a decree of the parliament of Paris having been iſſued againſt the latter, he thought proper to quit the capital, and reſided for ſome years at the country ſeat of madame du Chatelet. In that retirement he compoſed his ESSAY ON UNIVERSAL HISTORY, his ELEMENTS OF THE PHILOSOPHY OF NEWTON, and ſeveral of his dramatic pieces. Soon after the death of madame du Chatelet, he repaired to the court of Berlin, and of that period of his hiſtory ſome account has been already given.

After he had quitted the Pruſſian court, he reſided for many years at Ferney; and, during that period, he publiſhed his AGE OF LEWIS XIV. and a great number of other pieces. In the laſt year of his life he went again to Paris, where he was ſo much viſited, and ſo much courted and careſſed, that the change in his mode of living appears to have haſtened his death. He died at Paris on the thirtieth of May, 1778, and was interred at Sellières, a Benedictine abbey between Nogent and Troyes. The king of Pruſſia remarks, that "Although M. de Voltaire "was naturally of a delicate conſtitution, and grief, anxiety, "and intenſe application, had greatly weakened his health, he "reached his eighty-fourth year. In his exiſtence, mind pre-"vailed in every thing over matter. It was a ſtrong ſoul, "which communicated its vigour to a body almoſt tranſ-"parent."

Voltaire died rich; for he appears to have been always extremely attentive to the accumulation of money. He ſeems to have made large ſums by his writings, and he ſometimes engaged in commercial projects. He had a ſhare in a rich mercantile houſe at Cadiz, and other commercial connexions; and had once part of a contract for furniſhing the French army with proviſions, by which he is ſaid to have gained near thirty thouſand pounds.

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The caſe of this man was ſtated in the following terms: 'One John Michael Arnold, a miller, had bought the leaſe of a mill belonging 'to the eſtate of count Schmettau, of Pom-'mergiz, ſituated in the New Marche of Bran-'denburgh, near the city of Cuſtrin, and 'known in that province under the name of 'the Pommertziger Kerb's Mill. This mill, at 'the time when Arnold bought the leaſe of it, 'was plentifully ſupplied with water, by a river 'which empties itſelf into the river Warta. 'During ſix years Arnold had made various 'improvements in the ſaid mill; and, by 'means of his labour and induſtry, had been 'enabled to pay his rent regularly, and to ac-'quire a ſufficiency for the maintenance of his 'family. At the end of that period, the pro-'prietor of the ſaid mill reſolved to enlarge a 'fiſh-pond, contiguous to his ſeat, and cauſed 'a canal to be cut from the ſaid rivulet, at a 'ſmall diſtance above the mill, to ſupply his 'fiſh-pond with water. By theſe means the 'current of the ſtream was leſſened, and the 'quantity of water ſo much diminiſhed, that 'the mill could no longer do the uſual work. 'The miller had foreſeen the event, and from 'the beginning had remonſtrated againſt the 'cutting off the canal. But his remonſtrances, 'as well as his ſolicitations for cancelling the 'leaſe, proving in vain, he was at laſt forced 'to ſeek redreſs in a court of judicature at Cuſ-'trin, to whoſe cognizance the affair belonged; 'but his lord, being a man of fortune and con-

'ſequence

'ſequence in that province, ſoon found means 'to fruſtrate his endeavours. He continued to 'enlarge his fiſh-pond, ſo that the miller, in- 'ſtead of obtaining redreſs, found his water 'daily decreaſing to ſuch a degree, that at laſt 'he could only work during two or three 'weeks in ſpring, and about as many in the 'latter part of the year. Under theſe circum- 'ſtances, the miller could no longer procure 'his livelihood, and pay his rent, and conſe- 'quently became indebted to his lord for a 'conſiderable ſum. The latter, in order to 'obtain his rent, entered a ſuit againſt him in 'the ſame court of law at Cuſtrin, which had 'before refuſed relief to the miller, and ſoon 'obtained a ſentence againſt the miller's ef- 'fects; which ſentence, being approved of and 'ratified in the high court of appeals at Berlin, 'was put in execution. The miller's leaſe, 'utenſils, goods, and chattels, were ſeized and 'ſold, in order to pay the arrears of his rent, 'and the expences of a moſt iniquitous law- 'ſuit; and thus poor Arnold and his family, 'was reduced to want and wretchedneſs [n].'

In the account publiſhed of this caſe by the king's direction, it was alſo ſtated, that his majeſty having been informed of the injuſtice that had been committed againſt Arnold, and having ſtrictly examined into the truth of the caſe, and afterwards ſummoned the chancellor and judges before him, had made the following

[n] Annual Regiſter, vol. I. p. 2, 3.

declaration:

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declaration: 'The ſentence decreed againſt 'the miller Arnold, of the Pommertziger Kerb's 'mill, in the New Marche of Brandenburgh, 'being an act of the moſt ſingular injuſtice, 'and entirely oppoſite to the paternal inten-'tions of his majeſty, whoſe deſire it is that 'impartial juſtice be ſpeedily adminiſtered to 'all his ſubjects, whether rich or poor, without 'any regard to their rank or perſons; his ma-'jeſty, in order to prevent ſimilar iniquities 'for the future, is reſolved to puniſh in an ex-'emplary manner, the authors of that unjuſt 'ſentence, and to eſtabliſh an example for the 'future conduct of judges and magiſtrates in 'his dominions. For they are all to conſider, 'that the meaneſt peaſant, nay even the beg-'gar, is a man as well as the king, and conſe-'quently equally entitled to impartial juſtice, 'eſpecially, as in the preſence of juſtice all 'are equal, whether it be a prince who brings 'a complaint againſt a peaſant, or a peaſant 'who prefers one againſt a prince. In ſimilar 'caſes, juſtice ſhould act uniformly, without 'any retroſpect to rank or perſon. This ought 'to be a univerſal rule for the conduct of 'judges; and if the courts of law in his ma-'jeſty's dominions ſhould ever deviate from 'this principle of equity, they may depend 'upon being ſeverely puniſhed. For an unjuſt 'magiſtrate, or a court of law, guilty of wrong, 'and ſubſervient to oppreſſion, are more dan-'gerous than a band of robbers; againſt whom 'any man may be upon his guard.' But bad

'men,

men, entrusted with authority, who, under the cloak of justice, practise their iniquities, are not so easily guarded against. They are the worst of villains, and deserve double punishment.—The king, at the same time, hereby signifies to all his courts of law, that he has appointed a new high chancellor, and that his majesty will be very exact for the future, in the examination of his, and of their proceedings. They are, moreover, hereby strictly commanded, I. To bring all law-suits to the speediest conclusion. II. Carefully to observe, that the sacred name of justice may never be profaned by any acts of oppression and injustice. And III. To act with the most absolute impartiality towards every one, whether prince or peasant, without the least regard to situation in life. And in case his majesty should find their proceedings any ways contrary to the above orders, they may depend upon a rigorous punishment; as well the president, as the respective judges and counsellors, who shall be found guilty of, or accessary to, any sentence directly opposite to the fundamental principles of justice. Whereof all the courts of law, in all his majesty's dominions, are to take notice[n].' This declaration, some parts of which are truly excellent, was signed by the king himself, and dated at Berlin, Dec. 11, 1779.

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[n] New Annual Register, vol. I. p. 4.

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As Frederick's deciſion in favour of Arnold, and his declaration reſpecting his judges and courts of law, were publiſhed not only in the Pruſſian dominions, but in other parts of Europe, they occaſioned his zeal for juſtice, and the ſteps that he had taken to promote it, to be ſpoken of, in foreign countries, in terms of very high commendation. But, in the Pruſſian dominions, his conduct was cenſured from the beginning: for when the affair came to be truly and properly ſtated, it appeared, that the miller's caſe had been totally miſrepreſented, and that the king himſelf had been guilty of a great act of injuſtice, and treated his chancellor and judges in a moſt arbitrary, and oppreſſive manner. It appeared, that Arnold was a man of but indifferent character, and that no proceedings had been carried on againſt him but what were ſtrictly regular and legal. The impediments which he had ſtated, as preventing him from making the uſual profits by his mill, did not in reality exiſt. It was proved, that the fiſh-ponds, of which he complained, had not been made by his landlord, and were not claimed by him; that they were the property of another gentleman, who had an undoubted right to the uſe of the water of the rivulet for the ſupply of his ponds, by a deed of more than two hundred years ſtanding; during all which time the ponds in queſtion had exiſted. It was alſo proved, that Arnold had neglected to pay his rent for more than five years together, and that he had ſuſtained

no

no ſuch injury as he had pretended*. The caſe was ſo circumſtanced, that the courts of juſtice could not determine otherwiſe than they did, without acting in oppoſition to the principles of equity, and to the eſtabliſhed laws and uſages of the country. But Frederick, at the ſame time that he exclaimed againſt the injuſtice of his judges, pronounced himſelf a haſty and unjuſt deciſion againſt them, without any proper inveſtigation of their conduct. He had received a falſe information of the tranſaction [T], and precipitately ſuppoſed, that injuſtice had been done, becauſe the perſon with whom the miller had contended was a man of rank. The cauſe had been firſt determined in a provincial court, againſt Arnold, and the ſentence was afterwards confirmed in the ſupreme court of juſtice at Berlin. But Frederick not only reverſed the deciſion by his own authority, and turned his chancellor, baron Furſt, and eight of his judges out of their offices, but alſo condemned them to cloſe impriſonment for a year at Spandau.

* Latrobe's Characteriſtic Anecdotes of Frederick II. late King of Pruſſia, p. 289, 290.

[T] The king had firſt employed colonel Heucking, an old officer, to procure him the proper information in Arnold's caſe; and this gentleman employed as his agent a man whoſe name was Beck, who had formerly been an attorney, and who had been ſtruck off the roll, for iniquitous and illegal practices, by the provincial court in which the cauſe had been firſt tried. This man gave a falſe ſtatement of the caſe, out of reſentment againſt the court; and to this man's repreſentation the king gave implicit credit. Latrobe's Characteriſtic Anecdotes, p. 282.

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He likewiſe condemned them to pay the full price of the mill, and to reſtore the ſame to Arnold, beſides paying the full coſts of all his ſuits, and making him a compenſation for his loſs of time and buſineſs [p].

Baron Zedliz, one of the confidential miniſters of ſtate, refuſed to counterſign this deciſion againſt the judges; and was, on that account, in diſgrace till the king's death. The court and people of Berlin had ſo ſtrong a conviction of the injuſtice of the king's proceedings in Arnold's caſe, that ſubſcriptions were opened for the ſupport of the impriſoned judges, which amounted to much more than their ſalaries; and the prince-royal of Pruſſia, and the princeſs Amelia, were among the number of ſubſcribers. All the proceedings in the caſe of Arnold have ſince been reverſed. Count Hertzberg ſays of the preſent king, that "he has cauſed to be abrogated and ſet "aſide thoſe arbitrary arrangements, which "the late king had made in the famous caſe "of the miller Arnold, and has thus repaired "a ſtriking injuſtice, which that great prince "had committed by his miſtakes and precipi-"tation, and by the conſequences even of his "zeal for juſtice [q]."

The conduct of the king of Pruſſia, in the caſe of the miller Arnold, ſhews how incapa-

[p] Latrobe, ut ſupra, p. 287, 291.

[q] Mémoire Hiſtorique de la premiére du année règne de Frederick Guillaume II. Roy de Pruſſe, p. 14.

ble

CHAP. XXXVI. A. D. 1782.

ble any deſpotic prince, though of the greateſt abilities, muſt ever be, of the proper adminiſtration of juſtice. In this caſe, Frederick at firſt really intended to do juſtice; but the ſummary manner, in which he attempted to do it, defeated his own end. In conſequence of his neglect of thoſe forms of law, which are neceſſary to aſcertain where the truth lies, he was totally miſtaken; his information was erroneous, and his deciſion unjuſt; and his treatment of his chancellor and judges in the higheſt degree arbitrary and oppreſſive. But he could never afterwards be brought to reverſe his proceedings. He was accuſtomed to perſiſt, with the moſt inflexible obſtinacy, in whatever he had once determined, however erroneouſly, reſpecting his adminiſtration of government, eſpecially when his will and pleaſure had been made publickly and generally known.

In the year 1783, a memorial was preſented by M. de Thulemeyer, the Pruſſian miniſter at the Hague, to the States-general, in which it was requeſted, in the name of his Pruſſian majeſty, that they would take ſuch meaſures as might effectually put an end to the perſecutions which were then carried on againſt the ſtadtholder, and that they would maintain him in the full enjoyment of thoſe prerogatives, which, it was ſaid, were the rightful attributes of his perſon and family. The following year the king himſelf wrote a letter to the ſtates-general,

CHAP. XXXVI. A. D. 1783.

general, in which he complained of the many libels that were published in Holland againſt the prince of Orange. He admitted in this letter, that he was "not acquainted with the "internal conſtitution of the republic in all "its parts[r];" but he ſaid, "We know full "well, that owing to a dread, leſt the liberty "of the republic ſhould be endangered, the "dignity of the ſtadtholder has, at times, been "entirely laid aſide: but without inveſtigat- "ing whether ſuch apprehenſions were ground- "ed or not, certain it is, that they cannot ex- "iſt at preſent; ſince by the wiſe and ſafe po- "licy that actuates the reigning potentates of "Europe, thoſe reſpective powers are watch- "ful for the preſervation of each other, and "none of them can tamely ſuffer, much leſs "to contribute, the ſubverſion of the other[u]. "You would ſee us eagerly take the part of "the republic, and be the firſt to act in its "behalf, were any ſuch deſigns broached "againſt the ſtates. But we can SAFELY take "upon us to aſſure, that neither the pre- "ſent ſtadtholder, nor ANY his moſt immedi- "ate ſucceſſors, WILL EVER contrive, or un- "dertake, any thing againſt the freedom or "welfare of the republic, as it is inſeparable "from their own proſperity. We, on the con- "trary, COULD pledge ourſelves, that they "WILL EVER diſcharge the high and impor-

[r] Annual Regiſter, vol. XXVII. p 320.

[u] Of this obſervation of Frederick, the partition of Poland was an admirable illuſtration.

"tant

CHAP. XXXVI. A. D. 1784.

tant office of ſtadtholder, and exerciſe its prerogatives, conformably to the intentions and meaning of your high mightineſſes, from which THEY WILL NEVER DEPART; and for this we do moſt ſolemnly ſtand pledged to the ſtates-general[1]." Frederick farther ſaid, "We flatter ourſelves, that you will conſider theſe our repreſentations merely as the emanations of that FRIENDSHIP, which, as their good neighbour, actuates us in favour of the republic; and alſo as proceeding from that concern, which we muſt naturally feel for an illuſtrious houſe, to which we are ſo nearly allied; and by no means ſuppoſe, that we PRESUME TO MEDDLE in the private affairs of the ſtates, or encroach upon their freedom, grounded on the firmeſt baſis, and ſo glorioufly acquired." But his majeſty added, ſomewhat inconſiſtently, "We cannot, conſidering the ſituation of our dominions, and of our antient connections with the republic, forbear feeling the deepeſt concern for the fate of the illuſtrious houſe of Orange, and the continuance of the ſtadtholderſhip, and which we NEVER CAN TAMELY SUFFER TO UNDERGO ANY ALTERATION[2]." On the ſeventeenth of September, 1785, Frederick ſent another letter to the States-general, in which is the following paſſage: "We recommend in the moſt ſerious manner to your high mightineſſes, the welfare and in-

[1] Annual Regiſter, vol. XXVII. p. 321.
[2] Ibid. p. 322.

tereſts

CHAP. XXXVI. A. D. 1785.

"tereſts of the lord hereditary ſtadtholder, of "our dear niece, and of their family; and we "hope, that your high mightineſſes will vouch-"ſafe to take into deliberation, and make the "lords of the reſpective ſtates conſider, that "we cannot be indifferent reſpecting the cruel "and unmerited fate of perſons ſo nearly re-"lated to us; but, on the contrary, that we "ſhall watch over the preſervation of their "welfare, to which by every poſſible means "we ought to contribute *."

GREAT diſſenſions had ſubſiſted for a conſiderable time in Holland, reſpecting the ſtadtholder; and the fact was, that his conduct had afforded too much ground for diſſatisfaction. Count Hertzberg mentions it as one principal reaſon for the interference of the king of Pruſſia in the affairs of Holland, that he did it, in order "to preſerve the ſtadthol-"derſhip, and its prerogatives, to the family "of his worthy and incomparable niece, the "princeſs of Orange †." The count's ſtatement is extremely candid. But the office of ſtadtholder of Holland was not inſtituted for the benefit of the niece of the king of Pruſſia, or of any of her relations. It was inſtituted for the benefit of the people of Holland, who had an undoubted right to aboliſh the office, whenever they found it uſeleſs or pernicious;

* Annual Regiſter, vol. XXVII. p. 365.

† Mémoire Hiſtorique ſur la dernière année de la vie de Frederick II. p. 28.

and

and the relationſhip of the king of Pruſſia to the princeſs of Orange, could give him no juſt right to interfere in the domeſtic government of Holland. This interference, however, may ſerve to ſhew, how dangerous and pernicious it is to free ſtates, that their princes or magiſtrates ſhould intermarry in the families of princes highly deſpotic, and poſſeſſed at the ſame time of numerous ſtanding armies. Such princes may avail themſelves of any pretext, the interruption of a lady on a journey, or any other pretence, however trifling and contemptible, for trampling on the rights of men, or diſturbing the peace of nations. No advantages from ſuch alliances are a compenſation for the probable dangers of ſuch connexions. CHAP. XXXVI. A. D. 1785.

The conſtitution of the government of the United Provinces is undoubtedly too ariſtocratical; but the defects of their government ſhould be reformed by the Dutch nation themſelves, and not by Pruſſian troops. No magiſtrate who requires his authority to be maintained by ſuch means, by the aſſiſtance of mercenary troops of another nation, can deſerve any ſupport from the friends of freedom, and the rights of human nature. The inhabitants of Utrecht, and of ſeveral other parts of Holland, were endeavouring to introduce a greater mixture of democracy into the conſtitution of the republic; and, if no foreign power had interfered, their form of govern-

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ment would probably have been gradually and eſſentially improved. The preſervation of the balance of power in Europe, has ſometimes been pretended as a reaſon for ſuch interpoſitions; but it never can be neceſſary for the preſervation of the balance of power, that one nation ſhould claim a right to dictate to another reſpecting their conduct to their own magiſtrates, or whether a particular office of magiſtracy ſhould be continued or aboliſhed. Such interpoſitions are manifeſt violation of natural right, and are not to be juſtified by any ſuch pretences.

If the interference of the king of Pruſſia in the domeſtic government of Holland cannot juſtly be defended, a ſimilar interference on the part of England, muſt be ſtill more indefenſible, and more inconſiſtent. It can ill become a nation, who have cut off the head of one tyrant, and driven another from the throne, to tell the people of Holland, that they ſhall not be diſſatisfied with their ſtadtholder. The prepoſſeſſions of the court of England may lead them to defend the cauſe of the ſtadtholder; but it can never be the intereſt of the people of England, nor in any degree honourable to their character as a nation, to engage in a conteſt in ſupport of the claims of the ſtadtholder, in oppoſition to the ſenſe of a great part of the people of Holland. Of the conduct of the ſtadtholder, the Dutch nation are the ſole and proper judges; nor can the inhabitants of any foreign

foreign country have a right to dictate to them, what judgment they ſhall form, or in what manner they ſhall act, reſpecting a magiſtrate of their own creation. Nor can the occaſional improper interferences of France, in ſuch caſes, juſtify ſimilar and equally improper interferences of other nations. Every nation muſt have a natural and unqueſtionable right to regulate its own internal government; and if the Dutch chooſe to remove their ſtadtholder, or to abrogate his office, it would be no neceſſary conſequence, that the balance of power in Europe would be overturned. Indeed, the balance of power ſhould be maintained by other and better means, than by preventing the inhabitants of a country from correcting the defects of their own mode of government, or from oppoſing the authority of a magiſtrate, whom they conceive to have violated his truſt.

It is the intereſt of Great Britain, and of the United Provinces, to be on terms of peace and friendſhip with each other; and the beſt method that England can adopt, in order to prevent France from acquiring an undue aſcendancy in Holland, is to treat the Dutch with equity, to admit all their juſt claims, and to avoid any improper interference in their internal government. It is not very reaſonable to expect, that the inhabitants of Holland ſhould be ready to employ their fleet in ſupport of the liberties of Europe, if they are to be deprived

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prived of their own liberties; which is undoubtedly the caſe, whenever they are compelled by foreign powers to an implicit ſubmiſſion to the authority of their ſtadtholder, or prevented from making thoſe arrangements in their own domeſtic government, which they may judge to be expedient.

As to the balance of power, it is certainly reaſonable, that attention ſhould be paid by Great Britain to its preſervation; but it does not therefore follow, that Great Britain ſhould take an active, burthenſome, and expenſive part, in every diſpute upon the continent, in matters in which ſhe is not at all intereſted, and in caſes in which the acuteſt politician can hardly determine, on which ſide the balance is likely to preponderate. Whenever ſhe does take any part in continental diſputes, it ſhould be in ſupport of general liberty. This is the part moſt ſuited to the genius of the nation, and which will ever be found in the reſult moſt conducive to its real intereſt and honour.

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The great attention of the king of Pruſſia to the promotion of agriculture, manufactures, and the general proſperity of his dominions.—Increaſe of population in the Pruſſian dominions during the reign of Frederick.—Eſtabliſhment of the Germanic union.—Treaty of amity and commerce between Pruſſia and the United States of America.—Death of the king.

SOME of the latter years of Frederick, though they were not diſtinguiſhed by ſuch actions as greatly excite the attention of mankind, were yet in reality more illuſtrious than thoſe of any preceding period. During theſe years, he employed extraordinary aſſiduity in the promotion of agriculture, manufactures, and commerce throughout his dominions, and in increaſing their population, and general proſperity. Count Hertzberg ſays, 'Agricul-
'ture being the ſureſt means of increaſing po-
'pulation, becauſe it furniſhes the moſt imme-
'diate and neceſſary ſubſiſtence to the inha-
'bitants of a country, the king not only re-
'built the villages and farms which had fallen
'into decay, but alſo cauſed new ones to be
'erected, and eſpecially in the neighbourhood
'of rivers. The greateſt part of theſe rivers
'having formerly overflowed their banks, and
'overwhelmed much fertile ground, he found
'means to confine them within their proper
'bounds

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'bounds; and, by thus preventing inundations, 'he recovered many acres of excellent arable 'and paſture land, which he gave to foreign 'ſettlers, on condition that they ſhould build 'and ſtock their farms; and, to encourage 'them to do this, he granted them, for a num-'ber of years, an exemption from taxes, and 'from military ſervice. This was particularly 'done along the banks of the river Netz and 'Warthe, from Drieſen to Cuſtrin, by which '120,000 acres were recovered from the en-'croachments of thoſe rivers, and in which 'three thouſand families obtained ſettlements. 'The ſame was effected on the banks of the 'Oder, from Cuſtrin to Oderberg; along the 'Havel and the Elbe, round the great lake of 'Madue in Pomerania, and in the march of 'Fiener in the province of Magdeburg; and 'alſo in the environs of Potſdam, and in a 'great number of other places throughout the 'provinces.'—'On theſe newly recovered lands, 'the king built between five and ſix hundred 'villages and hamlets, and eſtabliſhed more 'than 42,000 families.'—In travelling over 'theſe lands, it affords great pleaſure to find 'flouriſhing colonies, good buildings, fine fields, 'rich paſture grounds, and numberleſs herds 'of cattle, where formerly nothing was to be 'ſeen but water and marſhes [a].

[a] Diſſertation ſur la Population des Etats en général, et ſur celle des Etats Pruſſiens en particulier, p. 9, 10.

THE

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THE ſame noble writer informs us, that 'the 'king, not ſatisfied with having built all theſe 'villages, and eſtabliſhed ſo great a number of 'families, by colonies of foreigners, and of na-'tives, alſo advanced, to many gentlemen and 'land-holders, ſums, amounting to ſeveral mil-'lions of crowns, in order to enable them to 'clear and to improve their eſtates. Theſe 'ſums were either a free donation, or were 'lent at the low intereſt of one or two per 'cent, the produce of which was appropriated 'for penſions to ſchool-maſters, and to the wi-'dows or daughters of poor officers. By theſe 'means he cauſed to be cleared, and to be cul-'tivated, almoſt all the land which was capable 'of it, and which was in any degree worth the 'labour.'—'He likewiſe gave to cultivators of 'land, of every kind, more than three hundred 'hereditary farms, or poſſeſſions, out of his own 'demeſnes.'—'He alſo promoted the intereſts of 'agriculture, by cauſing the ſeeds of lucerne, 'trefoil, and lupin, to be diſtributed to every 'farmer who would apply for them; by order-'ing a great number of cows to be purchaſed 'for many; and by directing large ſums to be 'expended every year in premiums and boun-'ties, in order to encourage farmers to pro-'ſecute every kind of rural induſtry.

'ONE of the principal means which the king 'adopted, in caſe of bad harveſts, in order to 'prevent famine, and its depopulating conſe-'quences, was to erect, in every province, im-

'menſe

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'menſe ſtore-houſes for corn, for the ſubſiſt-
'ence of his army in time of war, and of
'his other ſubjects in ſeaſons of natural
'ſcarcity. By purchaſing this corn, he kept
'the price of it ſufficiently high to encou-
'rage the huſbandman; and, by opening
'his ſtores, could at any time prevent the
'market from riſing ſo as to diſtreſs the peo-
'ple. By theſe means the Pruſſian domi-
'nions, though not remarkable for extraor-
'dinary fertility, ſuffered nothing, and were
'even able to ſupply their neighbours, in the
'dreadful famine of 1772, the effects of which
'were ſo fatal in ſome of the moſt fertile parts
'of Germany [b].

FREDERICK was equally attentive to manufactures and commerce. Manufactures and trades of almoſt all kinds were either eſtabliſhed by him, or received encouragement from him, at Berlin, at Potſdam, and in every other part of his dominions. 'We are in poſſeſ-
'ſion,' ſays count Hertzberg, 'of almoſt
'every poſſible kind of manufacture, and can
'not only excluſively ſupply the Pruſſian do-
'minions, but alſo furniſh the remote coun-
'tries of Spain and Italy with linen and wool-
'len cloths. Our manufactures go even to
'China, where ſome of our Sileſian cloths are
'conveyed by the way of Ruſſia. We export
'every year linen cloth to the amount of ſix
'millions of crowns, and woollen cloth and wool
'to the amount of four millions; which, added

[b] Diſſertation, ut ſupra, p. 11, 12, 13, 14.

to

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to the iron-works and hardware of the county of Mark, which brings into circulation about a million of crowns, to the timber of Brandenburgh and Pomerania, to the corn, flax, and timber of Pruſſia, and to the important Poliſh trade that we carry on through Konigſberg, Memel, Elbing, Dantzick, and Stettin, affords us ſufficient evidence of the balance of trade being very decidedly in our favour. So many manufactures naturally give ſubſiſtence to a great number of workmen, and draw many foreigners into the country; and the augmentation of this claſs of citizens neceſſarily increaſes the general population. We have in the different dominions of the king about 123,000 workmen, who work in ſilk, in woollen, in linen, in cotton, in leather, and in other materials, various kinds of merchandize, to the amount of ſixteen millions of crowns, of which eight are for foreign conſumption. If we compute that the family of every workman conſiſts only of four perſons, our manufactures give ſubſiſtence to half a million of people.'

'THE king protected and encouraged manufactures in every poſſible manner, eſpecially by advancing large ſums of money to aſſiſt them in carrying on their manufactures, animating them by rewards, and eſtabliſhing magazines of wool in all the little towns, for the benefit of the ſmall woollen manu-

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'factures. It was with a view to encou-
'rage trade, that the inhabitants of Berlin
'and Potſdam were exempted from military
'ſervice; and his majeſty granted nearly
'the ſame indulgence to the inhabitants of
'the circles of the mountains of Sileſia,
'where the poor, but induſtrious and ſober
'weavers, and who are ſettled in a narrow
'and barren diſtrict, carry on thoſe flouriſh-
'ing linen manufactures, which produce us
'an exportation of ſo many millions.'—
'The navigation of the Pruſſian dominions
'was likewiſe greatly benefited and increaſed,
'by the countenance and protection which
'the king gave to his flag, which was reſpect-
'ed every where, and even by the inhabitants
'of Morocco. We employ, in the maritime
'provinces, Pruſſia, Pomerania, and Eaſt
'Frieſland, twelve hundred veſſels; and if
'we reckon ten men for the crew of every veſ-
'ſel, this trading marine gives employment
'and ſubſiſtence to twelve thouſand ſeamen.
'Our own national veſſels carry almoſt the
'whole of the importation and exportation
'of the Pruſſian dominions; and they begin
'to carry on a conſiderable coaſting trade,
'eſpecially the veſſels from Embden [d].'

AMONG the different manufactures which were patronized and encouraged by Frederick, he was particularly attentive to the ſilk manu-

[c] Diſſertation, ut ſupra, p. 15, 16. [d] Ibid. p. 18.

facture

facture [v]; and it made, during his reign, a very rapid progreſs. He alſo endeavoured to introduce the Engliſh manufactures into his dominions; and, with that view, he gave ten thouſand crowns, in the year 1784, for machines for carrying on the Mancheſter manufactures [e]; and four thouſand crowns, in 1785, towards eſtabliſhing a manufactory of Engliſh earthen-ware at Konigſberg [f].

By the various methods that the king adopted for increaſing the number of his ſubjects, the population of his dominions was ſo much augmented, as to be nearly double what it was at his acceſſion, without taking into conſideration his new acquiſitions. Count Hertzberg, after ſtating the population of the Pruſſian dominions, in 1784, to amount to ſix millions, ſays, 'When the king aſcended the throne, in 'the 1740, the whole population of his dominions

[v] Count Hertzberg ſays, 'The king adopted every method 'of favouring and encouraging the growth of mulberry trees, and 'the culture of ſilk; eſpecially by advancing ſums of money, 'and by cauſing houſes and rooms to be built for ſmall cultivators. Hence we ſee that this ſpecies of culture has made a 'great progreſs, and chiefly by the zeal for the promotion of it, 'that hath been excited in the country clergy, by rewards in money, medals, and other diſtinctions. This is an object of the 'greater importance to the ſtate, as, during three months of the 'ſummer, it affords employment and ſubſiſtence to a number of 'perſons, who are too young, or too old, for more laborious occupations, and this without any prejudice to agriculture.' Diſſertation, ut ſupra, p. 17.

[e] Diſſertation, ut ſupra, p. 25.

[f] Diſſertation ſur la véritable Richeſſe des Etats, &c. par M. de Hertzberg, p. 43.

'amounted to 2,240,000 perſons. If to this be 'added two millions for the population of Si'leſia, Weſt Pruſſia, and Eaſt Frieſland, as the 'three provinces that the king acquired, and 'if theſe two millions are deducted from the 'ſum total of ſix millions, there will remain 'for the increaſe of the population of the an'tient provinces the number of 1,770,000, 'which is nearly double the amount of the 'antient population; and if that of the new 'provinces be taken into the account, popula'tion hath been nearly trebled[g], during the 'reign of Frederick [x].

TOWARDS the cloſe of his reign, Frederick iſſued an order, that when any of his ſubjects came near him, or had any thing to preſent to him, they ſhould not approach him kneeling[h]; that, he ſaid, being an improper poſture, on

[g] Diſſertation ſur la Population, &c. p. 23.

[x] Of the whole increaſe of population in the Pruſſian dominions, during the reign of Frederick, I cannot ſpeak with ſuch full and entire approbation as ſeems to be expreſſed by count Hertzberg. The king was undoubtedly entitled to great applauſe, for many of the methods by which he endeavoured to extend the population of his country; but I can never ſpeak with commendation of that increaſe of the general population of the Pruſſian dominions, which was occaſioned by an augmentation of territory not juſtly acquired, and by forcibly dragging away many thouſand families from their native country, merely for the aggrandizement of the Pruſſian monarchy, without the leaſt regard to juſtice or to humanity.

[h] Anecdotes and Characteriſtics of Frederick the Great, vol. I. p. 126.

any

any other occaſion but that of addreſſing the Supreme Being. About the ſame time he alſo made a ſecond reform in the laws, and the adminiſtration of juſtice, under the direction of the high chancellor, De Carmer; by which the principal direction and management of lawſuits was left to the judges, and the influence of the advocates was greatly diminiſhed. It has, however, been juſtly ſuppoſed, that too much power was given to the judges by the new arrangement, and that the Pruſſian ſubjects have been deprived of ſome ſecurity againſt the partiality of judges, by the reſtraints that have been put upon the advocates by the new regulations.

In the year 1785, a ſcheme was formed by the emperor to prevail on the elector-palatine, by the offer of a crown, to agree to an exchange of the duchy of Bavaria, including all thoſe appendages which were left and confirmed to it by the treaty of Teſchen, for the Auſtrian Netherlands, which were to be conſtituted a kingdom, under the revived denomination of Auſtraſia. To this ſcheme the elector-palatine appeared inclined to agree; but it was ſtrongly oppoſed by the king of Pruſſia, who entirely prevented it, by propoſing what is called the GERMANIC UNION, which was formed at Berlin on the twenty-third of July, 1785; and by which many of the electors, and moſt conſiderable princes of the empire, agreed to prevent any ſuch exchange as that of Bavaria,

and

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and to unite together, in order to preſerve inviolate the preſent Germanic ſyſtem and conſtitution.

In 1786, a treaty of amity and commerce was concluded between the king of Pruſſia, and the United States of America. The miniſters employed, for the negociation of this treaty, were, on the part of the king of Pruſſia, baron Thulemeyer, and on the part of the United States, Dr. Benjamin Franklin, John Adams, Eſq. and Thomas Jefferſon, Eſq. It was ſtipulated by this treaty, that there ſhould be a firm, inviolable, and univerſal peace, and ſincere friendſhip, between his majeſty the king of Pruſſia, his heirs, ſucceſſors, and ſubjects, on the one part, and the United States of America, and their citizens on the other, without exceptions of perſons or places. That the ſubjects of the king of Pruſſia might frequent all the coaſts and countries of the United States of America, and reſide and trade there in all ſorts of produce, manufactures, and merchandize; and that they ſhould pay within the ſaid United States no other or greater duties, charges, or fees whatſoever, than the moſt favoured nations did, or ſhould be obliged to pay; and they were to enjoy all the rights, privileges, and exemptions, in navigation and commerce, which the moſt favoured nation did or ſhould enjoy[1].

[1] Treaty of Amity and Commerce between the United States of America, and his Majeſty the King of Pruſſia, 8vo. 1786, p. 6, 7.

In

In like manner, the citizens of the United States of America might frequent all the coaſts and countries of the king of Pruſſia, and reſide and trade there, with the ſame privileges; but both the Pruſſians and the Americans were to conform to the laws of the country in which they were reſident. Each of the contracting parties were to endeavour, by all the means in their power, to protect and defend all veſſels and other effects belonging to the citizens or ſubjects of the other, which ſhould be within the extent of their juriſdiction, by ſea or by land. The antient and barbarous right to wrecks of the ſea was to be entirely aboliſhed, with reſpect to the ſubjects or citizens of the two contracting parties[k]. This treaty, in framing of which the enlightened and benevolent mind of Dr. Franklin is ſuppoſed to have been chiefly employed, alſo contained ſeveral excellent regulations for preventing cruelty to priſoners in caſe of war, for allowing them the neceſſary proviſions when in confinement, and for putting a ſtop to the depredations of privateers, and other calamities incident to a time of war.

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FREDERICK had now attained to the age of ſeventy-four years, and was in full poſſeſſion of thoſe uncommon powers of underſtanding, by which he had always been diſtinguiſhed. But his body was not equally vigorous with his mind. He had in general enjoyed good

[k] Treaty, ut ſupra, p. 13.

health,

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health, though he had ſeveral times been afflicted with the gout; but his bodily diſorders now began to increaſe, and he was extremely dropſical, without being himſelf ſenſible that he had that diſorder. He continued, however, to apply himſelf to the public buſineſs with his uſual aſſiduity. 'He employed 'the ſame indefatigable attention,' ſays count Hertzberg, 'to the internal government of 'his kingdom, and to the management of 'his affairs, during the laſt ſeven months of 'his life, as he had done formerly, and with 'the ſame ſucceſs, notwithſtanding the pain-'ful malady with which he was all that time 'afflicted.'—'Notwithſtanding his deſperate 'ſituation, he did not remit for a moment 'his practice of reading all the diſpatches of 'his foreign miniſters, or of dictating every 'morning, from four till ſeven, the anſwers 'that were to be ſent immediately to thoſe 'diſpatches [v], and maintaining a regular 'correſpondence with the miniſters of his 'cabinet, and thoſe for foreign affairs, on 'all great political concerns.'—'He kept up 'the ſame exact and daily correſpondence 'with the miniſters in the department of juſ-

[v] It is ſaid that, at this period of his life, and when he was thus employed, one of his ſecretaries, at the very time that he was preſenting a paper to him, fell down dead at his feet. The king appeared not in the leaſt affected by the accident, but coolly ſaid, "Let the body be taken away" and having ſent for another ſecretary, went on with his buſineſs, with as much unconcern as if nothing had happened. Vie de Frederick II. Roy de Pruſſe, tome IV. p. 115.

'tice,

'tice, and in that of the finances; and he directed himself, without any minister or general, the whole of the military correspondence, dictating his orders to his secretaries and aids-du-camp. I remember, that, a few days before his death, he even prescribed to these last all the manœuvres that were to be performed at the reviews in Silesia, adverting to the minutest circumstances of locality. At the same time, he sent for general D'Anhalt to Potsdam, in order to direct some new military arrangements, for the raising of free battalions, to expedite the movement of the army in case of a war. He likewise ordered to attend him, at Potsdam, the ministers of state De Hoym and De Werder, and the privy-counsellor Schutz from Pomerania, to settle with them some new plans for the cultivation of land, and the improvement of manufactures, which he proposed to have executed in 1787, in the different provinces; and particularly that which he had so much at heart, to have new villages built at his own expence in all the districts, where the husbandmen resided on plains of too great extent, or where population appeared to be too limited. He also took particular pleasure in the execution of a design that he had formed, of causing three hundred sheep and rams to be brought from Spain, in order to improve the breed of our own flocks. As these sheep were to pass, a few days before his death, by Potsdam, he

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'he expected them with impatience; being 'deſirous, as he himſelf ſaid, that ſome of 'them might come "to pay him a viſit at "Sans-Souci[1]."

In the month of June, 1786, Dr. Zimmermann, who is well known for his valuable medical productions, and his other ingenious writings, arrived at Potſdam, in order to attend the king as a phyſician. He was treated by Frederick with much more reſpect, than he was accuſtomed to manifeſt towards gentlemen of the medical profeſſion; and he had many converſations with him on literary and other ſubjects. Though the king's legs were then much ſwollen with the dropſy, he aſſured Dr. Zimmermann, that it was not that diſorder with which he was afflicted. But he was too far gone to derive any aſſiſtance from that able phyſician, who left Potſdam a ſhort time before the king's death.

Of the behaviour of Frederick, during ſome of the latter weeks of his life, the following account has alſo been publiſhed by count Hertzberg, who attended him to the moment that he expired: The laſt five weeks of his 'life,' ſays the count, from the ninth of July 'to the ſeventeenth of Auguſt, when he died, 'I paſſed by his deſire at his palace of Sans-'Souci. The counts De Schwerin, De Gortz, 'De Lucchefini, and De Pinto, who were 'with him three or four hours a day, can

[1] Mémoire Hiſtorique ſur la derniere année, &c. p. 6, 7.

'join

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'join me in the atteſtation, that though much 'ſwollen and incommoded with the dropſy, ſo 'that he could not move, without aſſiſtance, 'from a chair in which he reſted day and night, 'not being able to enjoy the comfort of a bed, 'and though it was evident that he ſuffered 'dreadfully, he never betrayed the leaſt ſymp-'tom of uneaſineſs, or any diſagreeable ſenſa-'tion; but preſerving always his ſerene, con-'tented, and tranquil air, and without ever 'ſpeaking of his condition, or of death, he 'converſed with us, in the moſt cordial and 'agreeable manner, on the public news, on li-'terature, on antient and modern hiſtory, and 'particularly on rural affairs and gardening, to 'which he was greatly devoted, and which he 'never ceaſed to cultivate. His regular and 'conſtant cuſtom was, after having read, night 'and morning, the diſpatches of his foreign 'ambaſſadors, with the reports military and 'civil of his generals and miniſters, to ſend 'either at four or five o'clock, as the exigency 'of affairs might require, for his three cabinet 'ſecretaries in ſucceſſion, to one of whom he 'dictated the anſwers to be given to each of 'his miniſters at foreign courts, which he af-'terwards communicated to me; and to the 'other two his orders and anſwers to miniſters 'of ſtate, or to generals, upon matters of mili-'tary concern, or of finances, or of juſtice, as 'well as his anſwers to the letters and applica-'tions of individuals; and that in ſo minute 'and regular a manner, on ſubjects wonder-

'fully

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'fully combined, that the ſecretaries had no-
'thing to do but to add the titles, dates, and
'the uſual formalities. Having diſcharged this
'buſineſs, at about ſeven or eight o'clock, he
'ordered in the commandant of Potſdam,
'the lieutenant-general De Rohdich, and his
'aids-de-camp, to give them verbal orders re-
'lative to the duties of the garriſon for the
'day. It was not till he had thus fulfilled all
'the duties of a ſovereign, that he for a
'few moments ſaw his ſurgeon, and ſome-
'times a phyſician, in order to pay that atten-
'tion to the ſtate of his body which neceſſity
'required. About eleven, the counts De Sch-
'werin, De Gortz, De Lucchefini, and De
'Pinto, with myſelf, went to him, and con-
'verſed with him till the clock ſtruck twelve,
'when he diſmiſſed us, and took his dinner
'alone. In the afternoon he ſigned all the
'diſpatches and letters which he had dictated
'in the morning, and which his ſecretaries
'were obliged to prepare by that time. He
'again ſent for us at five o'clock, and kept us
'with him till eight, when we withdrew to
'ſupper, and left him to paſs the remainder
'of the evening, in having paſſages read to
'him from antient authors, ſuch as Cicero,
'Plutarch, &c. and in reading afterwards ſuch
'new diſpatches as he had received, and then
'taking ſuch ſleep as his condition would per-
'mit him. This courſe of life was invariably
'continued till the fifteenth of Auguſt, on
'which day he dictated and ſigned his diſ-
'patches,

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patches, in a manner that would have done honour to a miniſter the moſt converſant in the routine of buſineſs. It was not till the ſixteenth of Auguſt, that he ceaſed to diſcharge the great functions of a king, and of a miniſter of ſtate, on which day he was deprived entirely of ſenſe, and on the morning of the ſeventeenth he exhaled his mighty ſoul, in my preſence, and in that of the reſpectable phyſician, Dr. Selle, without any convulſive motion [m].

Such was the end of this great and celebrated monarch, who died in the ſeventy-fifth year of his age, and in the forty-ſeventh of his reign. He was interred, with great funeral pomp, on the ninth of September following. The church, in which the royal remains were depoſited, was entirely hung with black; and on ſix columns were paintings, in grey, intended to exhibit ſome of the moſt remarkable circumſtances and tranſactions of the reign of Frederick. The firſt painting repreſented the king's conqueſts in Sileſia; the ſecond, the great ſtand made by him, againſt ſuch numerous and powerful enemies, during the ſeven years war; the third, the embelliſhments of the towns, and the cultivation of waſte lands, throughout the Pruſſian dominions; the fourth, the taking poſſeſſion of Weſtern Pruſſia; the fifth, the Germanic Union; and the ſixth, the protection afforded, during the reign of Frederick, to the

[m] Mémoire Hiſtorique, ut ſupra, p. 8, 9, 10.

arts

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arts and ſciences. Six trophies were alſo erected within the church, on which were inſcribed the names of twelve of the principal battles fought during his reign; namely, MOLWITZ, CZASLAU, SOHR, HOHEN-FRIEDBERG, KESSELDORFF, LOWOSITZ, PRAGUE, ROSBACH, LISSA, ZORNDORFF, LIGNITZ, and TORGAU. In eleven of theſe battles, Frederick himſelf had commanded, and was victorious. The battle of KESSELDORFF was gained by the prince of Anhalt-Deſſau.

FREDERICK left behind him a will, of which the following is a tranſlation: 'After having 'reſtored peace to my kingdom; after having conquered countries, raiſed a victorious 'army, and filled my treaſury; after having eſtabliſhed a good adminiſtration throughout my dominions; after having made my 'enemies tremble; I reſign, without regret, 'this breath of life to Nature. I leave to my 'very dear nephew, Frederick William, my 'conquered and acquired countries; my caſtles, my buildings, my gardens, my paintings, my wardrobe, and my furniture, on 'condition, that he renders the trifles which I 'deſtine to my family, as a mark of my remembrance of them; for my eſtates, my 'treaſure, and my people, are his inheritance 'by birthright. I deſire my nephew to leave 'to the queen, my conſort, what ſhe has 'at preſent, and to add 10,000 crowns per 'annum. She never gave me the leaſt uneaſineſs

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'fineſs during my whole reign, and ſhe merits every attention and reſpect for her many and unſhaken virtues. I leave to my brother Henry 200,000 crowns; the Chryſopraſe ring ſet with diamonds, which I wear; one of my moſt beautiful Chryſtal chandeliers; and fifty anthiels of Hungarian wine. To my brother Ferdinand 50,000 crowns, a coach, and eight horſes. To princeſs Amelia 100,000 crowns, and a ſervice of ſilver. To princeſs Henry 6000 crowns per annum. To princeſs Ferdinand 10,000 crowns, per annum, and a box ſet with diamonds. To the ducheſs-dowager of Brunſwick 50,000 crowns, and a ſilver ſervice. To the duke of Brunſwick two Engliſh horſes, and their furniture. To duke Ferdinand a handſome ſnuff-box, garniſhed with brilliants, becauſe he has always been my friend. To prince Frederick of Brunſwick 10,000 crowns. To the ducheſs of Wurtemberg, mother to the grand ducheſs, 20,000 crowns. To the prince, her conſort, a diamond ring. To the dowager landgravine of Caſſel 10,000 crowns. I recommend to you, my dear nephew, my brave and noble army; all my old officers, particularly thoſe who were about me; all my houſehold, and my ſervants; let them ſerve you; and if they are old, endeavour to provide for them. My firſt battalion of life-guards ſhall have two crowns each man; the ſtaff-officers each a medal, repreſenting one of the moſt memorable

actions

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'action of the war of ſeven years, that they may 'remember me, and their own glory. The little 'legacies that I have left are not out of the trea- 'ſury. That is not mine: it belongs to the 'ſtate. Look upon it always as ſuch, my dear 'nephew. Theſe legacies proceed from my 'ſavings, and I hope you will fulfil my laſt 'requeſts. To be a king is a chance; but ne- 'ver forget you are a man. I flatter myſelf, 'that there will be no diſagreement in my fa- 'mily. Private views ſhould be forgotten for 'the well-being of the ſtate. Let harmony 'reign among you, for the honour and glory of 'your anceſtors, and for the common good.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXXVIII.

Character of Frederick III. king of Pruſſia.—Farther account of his writings.—Additional anecdotes.

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FREDERICK, the third king of Pruſſia, was in his perſon below the middle ſtature; but his limbs were well formed, and he had a healthful and vigorous conſtitution. The portraits of him, at different periods of his life, exhibit a conſiderable diverſity of appearance. In his earlier years, he ſeems to have poſſeſſed a handſome countenance, and a graceful figure; but he was afterwards much altered by the perpetual fatigues that he underwent. In the latter part of his life, he ſtooped conſiderably in the ſhoulders; and his head was almoſt conſtantly inclined on one ſide. He was ſhort-ſighted; but he had fine blue eyes, full of vivacity and fire; and his look was expreſſive of uncommon keenneſs and penetration. His tone of voice was extremely clear and agreeable; and he ſpoke ſeveral of the modern languages with eaſe and gracefulneſs. He talked much, and with great ſprightlineſs, and excelled at repartee. In converſation, his features acquired a degree of animation, which no portraits could exhibit; and though not generally fond of the company of women, he yet diſplayed great vivacity in converſing with ſuch ladies, as were poſſeſſed

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of any ſuperior merit. His intellectual powers were great; and when we advert to his ſituation, and the little care that had been taken of his education, it muſt be acknowledged, that his literary acquiſitions were conſiderable. He had much general knowledge of the ſciences, and was extremely converſant with French writers in polite literature; but he is ſaid to have been very imperfectly acquainted with the Latin language; and he acquired his knowledge of the great authors of antiquity, both Greek and Roman, chiefly through the medium of French tranſlations. He was partial to the literature of France; but, in the latter years of his life, this partiality was much abated. His memory was uncommonly retentive; and he recollected the faces of thoſe ſoldiers, who had ſerved in his own regiment, when prince, more than forty years after. In his convivial hours, among his favourites, he was chearful, facetious, witty, and ſarcaſtic. But his railleries on thoſe, who were admitted to his familiarity, were often too biting; though he ſometimes met with very ſmart retorts, and which he generally received with good humour.

His conduct and character were very various, and at different times appeared in a very different light. His predominant paſſion was the love of glory; and this often led him to thoſe actions, which would extend his fame, and excite the attention of mankind, rather than to thoſe which were dictated by virtue. He may truly

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truly he ſaid to have been covetous of fame: for, he wiſhed to unite in his own perſon the reputation of a great king, a wiſe legiſlator, an illuſtrious hero, an accompliſhed general, a fine poet, and an enlightened philoſopher. But though he loved fame more than virtue, and was more ſolicitous to extend his reputation, and to enlarge his dominions and his power, than to regulate his conduct by the principles of juſtice and humanity; he wiſhed, notwithſtanding, for the praiſe of virtue, even when his actions were in direct oppoſition to its cleareſt dictates. Hence it aroſe, that his conduct was often variable and inconſiſtent; and that the ſame man ſometimes appeared an unfeeling tyrant, and at other times mild, gentle, and humane.

One great object of his aim appears always to have been, the aggrandizement of his dominions; and in this he would probably have ſucceeded much more than he did, if his conduct, at the beginning of his reign, had not ſo ſtrongly excited the jealouſy and apprehenſion of his neighbours, and produced ſo formidable a confederacy againſt him. There is reaſon to believe, that he had formed great ſchemes, which the number of his enemies prevented him from being able to put in execution. Had France and Ruſſia not united againſt him, he might, perhaps, have totally cruſhed the houſe of Auſtria, and overturned the whole Germanic ſyſtem.

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ACTIVE, enterprizing, indefatigable, and intrepid, he kept his neighbours in continual alarm; and their apprehenſions of him were the greater, becauſe he ſeemed ſcarcely to ſcruple any means that would effectuate his purpoſes. In the conduct of his affairs, he poſſeſſed the moſt unremitting vigilance, the moſt unwearied induſtry, and the keeneſt ſagacity in ſeizing thoſe deciſive moments, which were the moſt favourable to the promotion of his views. At periods, and in ſituations, of uncommon difficulty, and uncommon danger, he diſplayed the higheſt degree of courage, aſtoniſhing preſence of mind, and the greateſt magnanimity. No dangers, no difficulties, no fatigues, could deter him from the proſecution of thoſe ſchemes, to which he was prompted by his ambition and his love of fame. In attention to his army, to his government, and to the general concerns of his kingdom, he was probably the moſt indefatigable prince that ever exiſted. Every department of government was under his own immediate inſpection; and the moſt minute particulars of national domeſtic policy did not eſcape his obſervation. And, notwithſtanding the many faults in his character, there is the utmoſt reaſon to believe, that no prince then in the world, employed ſo much time and attention as FREDERICK did, for the laſt twenty years of his life, in promoting the happineſs of his ſubjects, and the general proſperity of his dominions, ſo far as was conſiſtent with his mode

of

of government, and with the maintenance of his own power and authority. CHAP. XXXVIII.

As he was born heir to a deſpotic monarchy, and trained up from his infancy in military ideas, theſe circumſtances ought to be taken into conſideration in judging of his character. But with the taſte for literature, and the diſtinguiſhing talents that he poſſeſſed, he would probably have been a better man, and a better king, if he had not ſo early imbibed the pernicious ſcepticiſm of VOLTAIRE. Though he wrote againſt Machiavel in his youth, he yet appears to have adopted much Machiavelian policy; and, on many occaſions, his conduct appeared to be more characterized by craft and ſubtilty, than by generoſity, or true dignity of mind. The caſe of baron Trenck, his treatment of the inhabitants of Saxony, and other inſtances, alſo afford evidence of too convincing a nature, that he could occaſionally be guilty of great cruelty.

His talents as a general were of the very higheſt order. In this character, he was eminently diſtinguiſhed by the rapidity of his marches, his ſkill in the art of encampment, and the dexterity of his manœuvres; by the fertility of his expedients, and his extenſive knowledge of military ſcience; and by the promptitude with which he availed himſelf, even in the heat of action, of every circumſtance that could be turned to his advantage. He was ſometimes chargeable with raſhneſs; but

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but it was in thoſe caſes, in which he had ſome important object in view, for the promotion of his general deſigns; and, in ſuch caſes, he ſacrificed the lives of his men, with a readineſs that reflected no honour on his character.

THOUGH naturally and generally parſimonious, he was occaſionally magnificent and liberal. He was alſo kind to his domeſtics, if they properly diſcharged the duties of their ſtations; and manifeſted a great attachment to ſome of his generals, and others, whom he favoured with his friendſhip. His love of muſic accompanied him through life; and except at thoſe times when the circumſtances of war, or other affairs of importance, rendered it impracticable, he attended his concerts with almoſt as much uniformity and exactneſs, as his military reviews. His ableſt muſical performers were with him in the camp; and in his moſt active and buſy campaigns, he always devoted ſome time to muſical performances, and to the purſuits of literature. With all his faults, he was undoubtedly a great king, poſſeſſed of very ſplendid qualities; and, indeed, one of the moſt diſtinguiſhed and extraordinary princes, of whom the records of hiſtory have preſerved to us any memorial.

OF ſeveral of the literary performances of the king of Pruſſia, I have already given ſome account. His poetical compoſitions, which, excepting his poem on the Art of War, conſiſt chiefly of odes and epiſtles, have paſſed through many

many editions, under the title of OEUVRES MELEES DU PHILOSOPHE DE SANS-SOUCI. There are variations in the different editions; and an edition was printed at Lyons, in 1760, which contains ſome paſſages, that were omitted in moſt of the editions printed at Potſdam, in order to avoid giving offence to foreign courts. Beſides the proſe pieces which have been already mentioned, the king alſo wrote Letters on Patriotiſm, and a Letter concerning German Literature. He likewiſe left behind him, in manuſcript, Memoirs of his own time, from the year 1740 to the peace of Dreſden; a Hiſtory of the war of ſeven years; a Hiſtory of the tranſactions from the peace of Hubertſbourg, together with the occurrences relative to the treaty of Teſchen, and ſome other pieces: all which have been announced for publication at Berlin, under the direction of count Hertzberg.

In his "Inſtructions for the Generals of his "Army," Frederick has diſplayed great military knowledge; and ſome paſſages in theſe inſtructions are not unworthy of attention. 'If I were ſolely attentive,' ſays he, 'to my 'own glory, I would always make my own 'country the theatre of war: for there every 'inhabitant is a ſpy; ſo that it is impoſſible 'for the enemy to take a ſingle ſtep, of which 'I am not inſtantly informed; and I can without danger harraſs and perplex him with 'large detachments, as often as I think fit.'—

'When

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'When we make war in a neutral country, 'there appears to be no advantage on either 'ſide. It, therefore, depends upon each 'army, to try which of the two can moſt effec-'tually obtain the confidence and friendſhip 'of the inhabitants.'—'If you are in a Proteſ-'tant country, as in Saxony for inſtance, you 'are to act the part of a zealous protector of 'Lutheraniſm; and to inſpire the common 'people, whoſe ſimplicity is eaſily impoſed 'upon, with religious enthuſiaſm. If the 'people are Roman Catholics, you are to talk 'of nothing but toleration, and throw all the 'blame of the violent animoſity between the 'different ſects of Chriſtians upon the prieſts 'of each; who, notwithſtanding their diſ-'putes, are agreed in the fundamental articles 'of faith. With regard to detachments in a 'neutral country, you are to be very circum-'ſpect, unleſs you are well aſſured of the good 'will of the inhabitants, or at leaſt of the 'greateſt part of them. In an enemy's coun-'try, as in Bohemia and Moravia, it behoves 'you to act with infinite caution; and, for 'the reaſons mentioned, never to truſt a de-'tachment at any conſiderable diſtance from 'your main body. You muſt carry on all 'your operations under your own eye. Your 'light troops are to be chiefly employed in 'eſcorting your convoys. You are not to 'expect ever to be able to gain the affection 'of the inhabitants. The Huſſites, in the 'circle of Koningſgratz, are the only people 'that

'that can be made at all uſeful. As for the nobility, they are all traitors, notwithſtanding they pretend to be well diſpoſed towards us. It is their intereſt to ſide with the houſe of Auſtria, and therefore it were fooliſh to depend upon any of them[a].' CHAP. XXXVIII.

In the third article of his Inſtructions,' Frederick ſays, 'As ſoon as you enter an enemy's country, you muſt ſeize all the brewers and diſtillers who are to be found in the neighbourhood, and oblige them in particular to furniſh gin, that the ſoldier may be ſupplied with a liquor, without which he cannot poſſibly exiſt[b].' In the article relative to magazines and ſubſiſtence, he ſays, 'It is neceſſary to be very circumſpect in the choice of commiſſaries; for if theſe gentlemen happen to be raſcals, the ſtate will ſuffer conſiderably. You muſt, therefore, endeavour to find a ſuperintendant of known probity, who will frequently and minutely examine their proceedings[c].'

In the "Inſtructions for the Light Troops," the king ſays, that the firſt care of an officer, commanding an advanced guard, muſt be, 'to ſurround his poſt with a chain of ſentries, *videts*, in ſuch a manner, that nothing can poſſibly approach him without his knowledge. Videts are to be double, and—it being ſuppoſed, that one of the two videts is a man to be depended on,

[a] Military Inſtructions, written by the king of Pruſſia, &c. p. 74, 75.

[b] Ibid. p. 16. [c] Ibid. p. 9, 10.

'the

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'the officer will remember to give him orders, 'that when he has any thing to report, he muſt 'always diſpatch his comrade to the guard, leſt 'being left alone he might deſert. The two 'videts ought never to ſeparate, unleſs when 'one goes with a report to the guard. If one 'of them ſhould attempt to deſert, the other 'muſt inſtantly blow out his brains; for he muſt 'be anſwerable for the fidelity of his comrade[a].

ONE of the king's inſtructions, relative to the methods to be employed for obtaining intelligence of the enemy, deſerves to be noticed for its ſingular iniquity. 'When you find it very 'neceſſary,' ſays Frederick, 'yet very difficult, 'to gain any intelligence of the enemy, there 'is another expedient, though a cruel one. 'You take a rich burgher, poſſeſſed of lands, 'a wife, and children. You oblige him to go 'to the enemy's camp, as if to complain of 'hard treatment, and to take along with him 'as his ſervant, a ſpy who ſpeaks the language 'of the country; aſſuring him, at the ſame 'time, that, in caſe he does not bring the ſpy 'back with him, after having remained a ſuffi-'cient time in the enemy's camp, that you will 'ſet fire to his houſe, and maſſacre his wife and 'children. I was forced to have recourſe to 'this cruel expedient, when we were encamp-'ed at ———. IT ANSWERED MY PURPOSE[b].

[a] Military Inſtructions, written by the king of Pruſſia, &c. p. 176—183. [b] Ibid. p. 70.

To

To compel a peaceable citizen to act as a traitor to his own country, and to induce him to do this, by aſſuring him, that otherwiſe his houſe would be fired, and his wife and children maſſacred, is an idea that could have been ſuggeſted only by a man, who ſuppoſed, that the moſt ſacred ties, divine and human, were to be ſacrificed to the ambition of princes.

To the anecdotes of Frederick which have been already given, in ſeveral parts of this work, I ſhall here add a few more, which may tend, in ſome degree, ſtill farther to illuſtrate his character.

After the ſecond Sileſian war, the king travelled into different parts of his dominions, and among other places arrived at Cleves, where he ordered the public accounts to be laid before him. On examining them, he found that a conſiderable annual ſum was paid, out of the revenue ariſing from the ducal foreſts, to the monks of the monaſtery of Minorites in that town; and inquiring on what account, was informed, that the money was left by former dukes, that a certain number of maſſes ſhould be ſaid daily for their ſouls. Upon this the king expreſſed a deſire to ſee the monaſtery; and being conducted thither, he found the monks arranged in two rows; and, immediately upon his entrance, they ſtruck up the Ambroſian hymn. 'Who 'are theſe?' ſaid Frederick. 'They are,' ſaid the

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the prior, the monks who read masses for the souls of the late dukes, in order to procure their release from purgatory. 'My poor cousins continue a long time in purgatory,' said the king; can you tell when they will be released?' 'That, sire,' replied the prior, 'is a point very difficult to be determined; but 'the moment that I am acquainted with their 'being removed out of purgatory, I will immediately dispatch a messenger to Potsdam, 'to give your majesty information of their deliverance.' The king smiled, and turning to one of his attendants, said, "There is no "doing any thing with this man: he has stu-"died among the jesuits[1]."

In a Roman Catholic town, in Silesia, several of the silver offerings, dedicated to the virgin Mary, were discovered to be missing. A soldier was suspected, and the things being found in his possession, he was condemned to death as a sacrilegious robber. But he resolutely denied the commission of any theft; asserting, that the virgin, out of compassion to his poverty, had presented him with the offerings. The sentence, however, as usual, was laid before the king for his confirmation; but upon reading the case, and the defence of the soldier, he ordered the opinions of several Popish clergymen to be taken, whether, according to their religion, the miracle was impossible?

[1] Vie de Frederick II. Roy de Prusse, tom. IV. p. 21, 22. Latrobe's Characteristic Anecdotes, p. 146, 147.

They

They replied, that the caſe was extraordinary, but not impoſſible. The king then ſaid, that the ſoldier could not be put to death, becauſe the divines of his own religion allowed that it was poſſible, that the offerings might have been given him by the virgin Mary, as he had ſtated. 'But,' added Frederick, 'I ſtrictly charge 'him, upon pain of death, never to receive 'hereafter any preſent from the virgin Mary, 'or from any ſaint whatever.' CHAP. XXXVIII.

At a review in Pruſſia, a woman made application to the king, requeſting that he would grant her ſon, who was a private ſoldier in the guards, leave of abſence, that he might have an opportunity of viſiting her. The king did not comply with her requeſt; but, upon his return to Potſdam, he informed the ſoldier, that his mother was in good health, and deſired to be affectionately remembered to him. The following year the king was again in Pruſſia, and the woman came again to requeſt the ſame favour. The king knew her immediately; and, before ſhe could ſpeak a word, told her, that "her ſon was well, and would "be very glad to ſee her at Potſdam."[s]

Frederick was one day converſing with an Engliſh gentleman, about the ſtate of affairs in England, at a time when a great part of the nation appeared, from the public prints, to be engaged in a violent oppoſition to the government. After ſundry inquiries and remarks, the

[s] Latrobe's Characteriſtic Anecdotes, p. 202.

king

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king began to talk in a very high tone, concerning the meaſures which he would have adopted, if he had been king of England. The Engliſhman coolly replied, "If your majeſty "were to be king of England, you would not "continue in your office three days."

One evening, at the time when he had regular ſupper parties, he facetiouſly put the queſtion to each of thoſe who ſupped with him, what he would do if he were king of Pruſſia? In general, they made very flattering anſwers; but when he put the queſtion to D'Argens, the marquis replied, "By my faith, ſire, I would "ſell my kingdom, in order to purchaſe a pro-"vince of France with it[h]."

A major-general in the Pruſſian ſervice, who was an able officer, and a man of merit, was obſerved frequently to ſpeak in very ſtrong terms of the bleſſings of deſpotiſm. This being reported to the king, Frederick wrote to him, 'Monſ. major-general, I muſt beg that 'you will no longer continue to play the part of 'Brutus in my dominions; or, otherwiſe I 'ſhall be obliged to conſpire againſt your li-'berty[i].'

In the year 1753, a literary man ſent to the king the plan of a literary work, and a letter, in which he informed him, that Voltaire and

[h] Vie de Frederick II. Roy de Pruſſe, vol. IV. p. 6.
[i] Ibid. p. 25.

Monteſquieu

Monteſquieu had expreſſed their approbation of his deſign, and had ſubſcribed to his work; but that he did not chooſe to reſolve upon publication, till he had alſo the honour of his majeſty's name. Frederick wrote back: "You "are too difficult: the names that you have "mentioned to me, are worth more than thoſe "of all the kings in Europe. I will, however, "add my name to your liſt, that I may have "my name enrolled with theirs [k]." CHAP. XXXVIII.

The princeſs Elizabeth Chriſtina Ulrica of Brunſwick, who was married, in 1765, to the prince-royal of Pruſſia, was afterwards divorced from him, and kept in a kind of confinement at Stettin. At the time when this princeſs was in that ſituation, ſhe gave orders to have ſome rich ſtuffs ſent from Lyons, and directed to her at Stettin. As foreign ſtuffs pay a very large duty in the Pruſſian dominions, the collector of the cuſtoms thought proper to detain them, becauſe the princeſs had given no directions for the payment of the duty. The princeſs was highly incenſed at this; but ſent word to the collector, that ſhe would ſatisfy his demands, and deſired him to come himſelf with the ſtuffs for that purpoſe. Her orders were obeyed, but the collector was no ſooner introduced into her preſence, than ſhe took the ſtuffs from him with great indignation, and at the ſame time gave him two or three buffs in the face. The collector, enraged at this treatment, addreſſed a long and very formal memo-

[k] Vie de Frederick II. tome IV. p. 7, 8.

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memorial to the king, ſetting forth how much he had been diſhonoured in the performance of his duty. To this complaint Frederick returned, in his own hand, the following anſwer; 'The loſs of the duty muſt be placed 'to my account; the ſtuffs muſt remain with 'the princeſs, the cuffs with him that received 'them. As to the ſuppoſed diſhonour, I 'cancel it at the requeſt of the complainant: 'but it is of itſelf null; for the white hand of 'a fair lady cannot poſſibly diſhonour the face 'of a cuſtom-houſe officer.'[1]

THE lady of the preſident of the court of juſtice, and the lady of the preſident of the chamber of revenue, at Cleves, had frequent diſputes about precedency; and the lady of the preſident of the court of juſtice inſiſted, that, in all public aſſemblies, ſhe had a right to take place of the other. This enraged her rival to ſuch a degree, that ſhe wrote to the king, and deſired that his majeſty would determine, which of the two ladies had a right to walk firſt. Frederick returned the following laconic anſwer: "Let the greateſt fool walk "firſt."

MONS. T. a lieutenant-colonel and engineer in the French ſervice, deſerted, and came to Potſdam, where he was preſented to the king under the aſſumed title of count D. Frederick finding him to be a man of talents, accepted

[1] Obſervations on the Military Eſtabliſhment, &c. p. 23, 24.

his

his ſervices, and gave him good appointments; and the pretended count introduced a lady, under the character of his wife, to the queen and princeſſes. The princeſs-royal was particularly civil to her, and often invited her to her table. About a year after the arrival of this couple, the pretended counteſs died; and not long after, to the aſtoniſhment of every one at Potſdam, the count's real wife made her appearance; and it then came out, that the deceaſed was a courtezan, whom he had picked up at Paris. This ſtory made much noiſe, and ſoon reached the king's ears, who thereupon wrote the Frenchman the following letter: CHAP. XXXVIII

'Lieutenant-colonel count D. or Mr. T.

'When I thought you could be uſeful to me, 'it was a matter of indifference to me whether 'you had a wife, or a miſtreſs. With my uſual 'indulgence, therefore, I overlook your inſo'lence in introducing her to the royal family. 'She is dead, and the affair is at an end. I 'adviſe you, however, to reflect a little, before 'you think of introducing this other lady, who 'has juſt made her appearance. Content your'ſelf with ſerving me faithfully. At your age 'and mine, it is time to have done with the 'women.

FREDERICK m.'

m Obſervations on the Military Eſtabliſhment, &c. p. 68, 69.

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A PROFESSOR of the univerſity of Halle, named Eberhard, had been appointed miniſter of Charlottenbourg by the conſiſtory. But the inhabitants of that town, who were deſirous of having another perſon for their miniſter, proteſted againſt the appointment, alledging, that Eberhard had written an apology for Socrates. The conſiſtory, however, rejected the repreſentations of the people, who thereupon preſented a petition to the king, in which they ſtated, that they could not truſt the care of their ſouls to a man, who had maintained, in a public writing, that Socrates, though a heathen, would be ſaved. Frederick returned their petition, with theſe words added at the bottom: "It is my "pleaſure that Socrates ſhould be ſaved, and "that Eberhard ſhould be your miniſter[a]."

A CLERGYMAN, who was miniſter at Valangin, had been turned out of his office, for having preached againſt the doctrine of eternal damnation. He applied to the king for redreſs, who ordered him to be reinſtated in his benefice, and exhorted the people of Valangin to act, for the future, in a more tolerant and rational manner. Great oppoſition, however, was ſtill made to the clergyman, and a remonſtrance upon the ſubject was preſented to the king, in which it was ſtated, that the people were determined to hear nothing ſaid againſt the doctrine of eternal damnation. As it was an affair of religion, Frederick did not chooſe to engage

[a] Vie de Frederick II, tome IV. p. 32.

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any farther in the conteſt; and, therefore, returned the remonſtrance, with theſe words added at the bottom: "If my loving ſubjects in "Valangin chooſe to be damned eternally, I "have nothing to ſay againſt it[o]." CHAP. XXXVIII.

THE magiſtrate of an inconſiderable village in the electorate of Brandenburgh, had committed a burgher to priſon, who was charged with having blaſphemed God, the king, and the magiſtrate. The burgomaſter reported the ſame to the king, in order to know what puniſhment ſuch a criminal deſerved. In the margin of the priſoner's caſe, which was tranſmitted to him, Frederick wrote with his own hand the following ſentence: 'That the priſoner has blaſphemed God, is a ſure proof that 'he does not know him; that he has blaſphemed me, I willingly forgive; but as he has 'blaſphemed the magiſtrate of the town, he 'ſhall be puniſhed in an exemplary manner; 'and, therefore, I order him to be committed 'priſoner to the fortreſs of Spandau, for half 'an hour[p].

IN the courſe of his ſecond war with the empreſs queen, we are told, that his valet de chambre was prevailed upon to attempt to poiſon him. Frederick, who is ſaid to have been an excellent phyſiognomiſt, obſerving ſome-

[o] Vie de Frederick II. tome IV. p. 33, 34. Latrobe's Characteriſtic Anecdotes, p. 112, 113.

[p] Anecdotes and Characteriſtics of Frederick the Great, vol. I. p. 161, 162. Latrobe's Characteriſtic Anecdotes, p. 131.

thing unuſual in the look of the man that morning, and that he trembled when he gave him his chocolate, he fixed his eyes upon him with great ſteadineſs, and ſaid to him at the ſame time, "I am certain, that you have been "bribed to poiſon me." The man denied it; but the king gave the chocolate to a dog, and the animal died in about two hours. He did not, however, put the man to death; but having learned from him in what manner he had been bribed, and by whom, he contented himſelf with ſending him priſoner to the fortreſs of Spandau, from whence he was releaſed ſome years after[a].

On ſome occaſions Frederick diſcovered great ſenſibility. He was much attached to lieutenant-general count Rothenburgh; and, in the latter years of that general's life, ſeemed not to be eaſy, if he was long without his company. During the general's laſt illneſs, the king frequently ſat by his bed-ſide for hours. When he received the news of the general's death, he haſtily left his palace, half-dreſſed, and croſſed the ſtreet to the general's houſe. He ſhed tears at the ſight of his body, but ſtill ſeemed to entertain hopes that he was not dead; for he ſent immediately for a ſurgeon, ordered a vein to be opened, and held the baſon himſelf. When he found that the general could not be brought again to life, he left the

[a] Obſervations on the Military Eſtabliſhment, &c. of the King of Pruſſia, p. 15.

houſe

houſe in great agitation, indulged his grief in private, and would ſcarcely ſee any company for ſeveral days. CHAP. XXXVIII.

FREDERICK had a very high reſpect for the memory of the great elector, Frederick William, whom he conſidered as the greateſt prince of his family. When an antient cathedral was demoliſhed, in which ſome of the electors had been interred, their coffins were obliged to be removed; and the king gave orders, that the coffin of the great elector ſhould be opened. He was preſent himſelf on the occaſion, attended by two of his aids-de-camp. He viewed the corpſe of the elector, which was well preſerved, with great attention, for a conſiderable time, without ſpeaking a word. At length, taking hold of the elector's hand, he ſaid, with great emotion, "Gentlemen, he did great things!—"Shut the coffin."

IN the ſecond Sileſian war, the king rode out, with very few attendants, to reconnoitre the enemy. A party of pandours lay in ambuſcade in a wood, through which he was obliged to paſs, and who fired ſeveral times at him, and thoſe who were with him, but without effect. At laſt a ſoldier, who was with the king, called out, "Sire, ſave your life: a pandour behind "the next tree is aiming at your majeſty." The king turned round with great coolneſs, and ſeeing the pandour, who had juſt taken

[a] Vie de Frederick II. tome IV. p. 36, 37. Anecdotes and Characteriſtics of Frederick the Great, vol. II. p. 66, 67.

his

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his aim, called out to him in a menacing tone, "You! you! there, Sir!" The pandour was ſo ſtruck with the king's look, manner, and commanding voice, that he immediately grounded his firelock, took off his hat, and ſtood in a reſpectful poſture, till the king had paſſed by.

At the battle of Roſbach, the king ſaw a French grenadier, who though manifeſtly overpowered, defended himſelf with great gallantry, and refuſed to ſurrender; upon which the king rode up to him, and ſaid, "Brave grena-"dier, are you invincible?" "Yes, ſire," replied the grenadier, "if you were to command me."

A FOREIGNER, who had ſettled in the Pruſſian dominions as a coloniſt, and who ſuppoſed himſelf to be ſo uſeful that the king would not willingly loſe him as a ſubject, took an opportunity of addreſſing him, when he was making one of his tours through his dominions, and told him, that he ſhould leave the country, with his wife and children, and go where he could be much better off. He hoped by this ſpeech to have induced the king to grant him ſome farther advantages; but Frederick coolly replied, "You are perfectly right, my good "friend; for if I knew a place where I ſhould "be better off than where I am, I would cer-"tainly go there myſelf[u]."

[t] Latrobe, p. 231, 232. [u] Vie de Frederick II. tome IV. p. 27. Characteriſtic Anecdotes, p. 114, 115.

THE

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THE king was one day looking out of a window, at the palace at Potſdam, where he ſaw a crowd of people aſſembled together, and reading a paper that was ſtuck againſt the wall. He ſent one of his pages to read it, and inform him what was the ſubject. The page returned, and acquainted him, that it was a libel againſt his majeſty, in which his character was very ſeverely treated. Frederick remarked, that the paper was placed ſo high, that people could not read it with any conveniency. He, therefore, ſent his page back, to take it down, and ſtick it up lower, that thoſe perſons, who paſſed that way, might read it more at their eaſe x.

Dr. MOORE, ſpeaking of Frederick, ſays, 'He uſes a very large gold ſnuff-box, the lid 'ornamented with diamonds, and takes an immoderate quantity of Spaniſh ſnuff, the marks 'of which very often appear on his waiſtcoat 'and breeches. Theſe are alſo liable to be ſoiled by the paws of two or three Italian 'greyhounds, which he often careſſes y.' He was much attached to dogs; and Mr. LATROBE informs us, that 'he had ſeveral of theſe animals of whom he was particularly fond, and 'in all his rooms were a number of ſmall leather balls, with which he uſed to play with

x Vie de Frederick II. Roy de Pruſſe, tom. IV. p. 23. Anecdotes and Characteriſtics of Frederick the Great, vol. II. p. 161, 162.

y View of Society and Manners, &c. vol. II. p. 236.

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'them. One of them, called *Birke*, was his 'particular favourite, had been his companion 'in many of his campaigns, and at her death 'he erected a ſmall monument to her memory, 'in his gardens at Potſdam *.'

* Characteriſtic Anecdotes, p. 17.

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Obſervations on the Military eſtabliſhment of Pruſſia, and on the Pruſſian Government.—Concluſion.

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THE military eſtabliſhment of the Pruſſian dominions, by which an army of at leaſt two hundred thouſand men is conſtantly kept up [z], is ſo much beyond what might naturally be expected in a country of ſuch moderate extent, that it cannot be ſupported without heavy taxes being laid upon the people [A], and a very rigid œconomy being maintained

[z] The preciſe number of men in the Pruſſian army, including officers, in the year 1782, was 215,038. Hiſtorical Account of the Pruſſian army, by the baron de Helldorff, 8vo. Lond. 1783, p. 35.

[A] Dr. Moore obſerves, that 'all commodities are highly taxed in the Pruſſian dominions. At Berlin, though money is a great deal ſcarcer than at London or Paris, a ſtranger will find very little difference in the ordinary expence of living. There are no means by which his revenue can be augmented, which this king has not tried. He has taxed even the vanity of his ſubjects, and drawn conſiderable ſupplies ſince the beginning of his reign from that plentiful ſource. The rage which the Germans, above all men, have for titles, prompts many of the wealthy citizens to purchaſe that of ſome office about court;

and

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tained on the part of the government. Of the manner in which the native troops in Prussia are raised, the following account has been given: 'The king's dominions are divided 'into a certain number of cantons, or districts, 'each of which is obliged to raise a certain 'number of men. Not only each regiment,

'and although the king employs no person void of abilities, he 'never scruples to permit this kind of traffic.' The title, however, 'is literally all that is sold: for with regard to the real business of 'the office, the purchaser has as little connexion with it after 'the bargain as before. Though his majesty scarcely ever con- 'sults with any body, he has more nominal privy-counsellors than 'any king in Christendom.' View of Society and Manners, &c. vol. II. p. 198.

The subjects of Prussia are so heavily taxed, that the inhabitants even of Berlin are not able to support a tolerable theatre. M. Riesbeck says, in his Travels, (vol. III. p. 52, 53.) that 'though the inhabitants of Berlin, including the garrison, amount 'to one hundred and forty-two thousand men, yet it is not able 'to keep up a good company of players.'—'You would imagine 'that the officers alone, who are constantly from eight to nine 'hundred in number, would be sufficient to keep up a good the- 'atre; but it is not so. In truth, this is one of the most emi- 'nent marks of the poverty and parsimony of the people of this 'place.

It has been pretended, and Riesbeck professes to be of that opinion, that Frederick imposed such heavy taxes upon his people from maxims of a very refined policy, and in order to prevent luxury in his dominions. Undoubtedly, to lay such heavy taxes upon commodities, as would hinder persons even in the middle ranks of life from obtaining the conveniencies of it, was a very admirable method of preventing luxury. This will appear the more manifest, if it be farther considered, that all this was done, that the imposer of these taxes might be enabled to support an enormous army, to enslave his own subjects, and to keep his neighbours in perpetual alarm.

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'therefore, but each company of a regiment 'has its particular district: and at the age of 'sixteen, every peasant, mechanic, merchant 'or citizen, has his name inserted in the war- 'list of his canton; and is obliged, when 'called upon, to join the regiment, or com- 'pany, belonging to that district. For it is 'very seldom, and only upon extraordinary 'occasions, that persons enrolled in one canton 'are allowed to be turned over to another 'corps; not even to the guards; because these 'have likewise their districts for national 'recruits, and are supplied only with fore- 'igners from the rest of the army. When 'any regiment, or company, is in want of 'fresh men to supply the place of such as are 'dead, or dismissed from the service, a field- 'officer, commonly the major of the regi- 'ment, goes into the canton, and chooses the 'number requisite to supply the deficiency. 'This business is conducted in a very impartial 'manner; the subjects selected being always 'such as are the best fitted for service, and 'who are the least wanted at home. Among 'the peasantry, the eldest son is usually ex- 'empted from the service, that he may be 'educated to husbandry; and when a farmer 'has only one son, it seldom happens that he 'is forced into the army, unless he be remark- 'ably tall and well made a.'

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a Observations on the Military Establishment of the King of Prussia, p. 76, 77.

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Dr. Moore ſays, 'Whatever number of 'ſons a peaſant may have, they are all liable 'to be taken into the ſervice, except one, 'who is left to aſſiſt in the management of 'the farm. The reſt wear badges from their 'childhood, to mark that they are deſtined to 'be ſoldiers, and ready to ſerve when the 'ſtate requires them.'—'The king, however, 'endeavours to ſave his own peaſantry, and 'draw as many recruits as he can form other 'countries. For this purpoſe, there are Pruſ-'ſian officers employed at Hamburgh, Franck-'fort, and other free towns of Germany. I 'have ſeen them alſo at Neufchatel, and at 'places near French garriſons, attempting to 'enliſt men, and pick up deſerters. The 'recruits procured in this manner, remain 'continually with the regiments in which 'they are placed; but the native Pruſſians 'have every year eight or nine months of 'furlough, during which they return to their 'fathers or brothers houſes, and work at the 'buſineſs of the farm, or gain their livelihood 'in any other way they pleaſe [B]. Here is 'at

[B] Count Hertzberg ſays, that 'it would not be difficult to 'ſhew, that the Pruſſian army is a true national militia, ſuch as 'that which the Romans had, and which the Engliſh have deſired 'to have, but never had.' Diſſertation, ut ſupra, p. 19. I perfectly agree with the count, that the Engliſh never had ſuch a national militia as that of Pruſſia; and I do moſt ſincerely hope, that they never will, in any period of the hiſtory of the world, be in poſſeſſion of ſuch a militia. But I cannot agree with this no-

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'at once an immenſe ſaving in the expence 'of the army, and a great gain to the ſtate 'from the labour of ſo many men.' CHAP. XXXIX.

'With reſpect to the diſcipline of the Pruſſian army, it has been obſerved, that 'in Pruſſia, the ſoldier is inſtructed in a very methodical manner. When he is firſt brought to 'the regiment, he is placed under the care of 'a ſerjeant, who teaches him how to walk, 'and to hold up his head, as well as the uſe of 'his firelock; and he is every day inſpected 'by an officer, who is careful to ſee that he is 'properly inſtructed. For ſome days he is 'treated with gentleneſs, and allowance is 'made for his natural timidity and awkwardneſs. His duty is repeatedly explained to 'him, and he is ſoon taught to know, that his 'body is to move only at the word of command, and that at the word *halt*, he is to be 'as immoveable as a ſtatue. Indeed, the lead-

ble writer in ſuppoſing, that the army of Pruſſia bears any very near reſemblance to the militia of the antient Romans. As to the militia of England, it is certainly not upon the footing that it ought to be; it is abundantly too much in the power of the crown; and, in framing our militia laws, the repreſentatives of the people have not paid that attention, which they ought to have done, to the intereſts of their conſtituents, and of their country. But ſtill the Engliſh militia is upon a footing extremely different from the ſtanding army of Pruſſia; and the ſtanding army of England depends wholly, for its ſubſiſtence, by the conſtitution, upon the votes of the Britiſh parliament.

* View of Society and Manners, &c. vol. II. p. 200, 201.

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'ing principle of his majeſty's military ſyſtem 'ſeems to be, to reduce his troops to the na-'ture of machines, to teach them to have no 'will of their own, and to be as deaf and as 'pitileſs as their muſkets.' It is alſo farther remarked by Dr. Moore, that 'the common 'ſtate of ſlavery in Aſia, or that to which peo-'ple of civil profeſſions in the moſt deſpotic 'countries are ſubject, is freedom in compari-'ſon of this kind of military ſlavery [c]. The former

* Obſervations on the Military Eſtabliſhment, &c. p. 85.

[c] M. Riesbeck, in his Travels, has taken much pains to convince his readers, that the Pruſſian ſoldiers enjoy more happineſs than is commonly ſuppoſed; and, indeed, the condition of a Pruſſian ſoldier, whoſe pay amounts to about two-pence halfpenny a day, and who, when performing his exerciſe, is ſubjected to puniſhment for coughing or for ſneezing, or for the moſt trifling and involuntary accident reſpecting his arms, muſt certainly be a very high ſtate of human felicity. But Frederick himſelf was extremely apprehenſive, that many of his men might be too perverſe to view their ſituation in this favourable light. For, in no other army that ever exiſted, were ſuch extraordinary pains taken for the prevention of deſertion. Some of Frederick's regulations for this purpoſe may be ſeen in his Inſtructions for his generals; and Dr. Moore remarks, that 'however deſirous a Pruſſian ſoldier may be 'to deſert, the thing is almoſt impoſſible. The moment a man is 'miſſing, a certain number of cannons are fired, which announce 'the deſertion to the whole country. The peaſants have a con-'ſiderable reward for ſeizing a deſerter, and are liable to ſevere 'penalties if they harbour, or aid him in making his eſcape, and 'parties from the garriſon are ſent after him in every direction. As 'none of the ſoldiers are ever allowed to go without the walls of 'the town (of Berlin), it requires great addreſs to get over this 'firſt difficulty; and when they have been ſo far fortunate, many

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'former are not continually under the eyes 'of their tyrants, but for long intervals 'of time may enjoy life without reſtraint, and 'as their taſte dictates; but all the foreign 'ſoldiers in this ſervice, and thoſe of the na-'tives, who are ſuſpected of any intention 'to deſert, and conſequently never allowed 'furloughs, are always under the eye of ſome-'body, who has the power, and too often 'the inclination, to controul every action 'of their bodies, and every deſire of their 'hearts [d].

'chances remain againſt their eſcaping through the Pruſſian do-'minions; and even when they arrive ſafe in any of the neigh-'bouring ſtates,

'*Nunc eadem fortuna viros tot caſibus actos*
'*Inſequitur.*

'For there they will probably be obliged to enliſt again as ſoldi-'diers; ſo that on the whole, however unhappy they may be, 'it is abſurd to attempt deſertion in any other way than by kil-'ling themſelves; which method, as I am told, begins to pre-'vail.' View of Society and Manners, ubi ſupra, p. 144, 145, 146.

The travels of Mr. Rieſbeck contain much curious information reſpecting ſeveral parts of Germany; but he was little acquainted with England, and was ill qualified to form ſuch a comparative eſtimate, as he has attempted to make, between the different ſituation of Engliſh and Pruſſian farmers. Much, therefore, of what he has ſaid upon this ſubject is extremely abſurd; and his book contains many other injudicious and ill grounded reflections relative to the character, conduct, and adminiſtration, of the late king of Pruſſia.

[d] View of Society and Manners, &c. ubi ſupra, p. 149, 150.

No

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No advantages reſulting from a ſtanding army can be a compenſation for the evil of keeping ſo great a number of men in a ſtate ſo ſervile, and ſo diſhonourable to human nature. But, indeed, thoſe large armies, which are now kept up in the different nations of Europe, are not maintained for the benefit of the people at whoſe expence they are ſupported, but for the preſervation, and aggrandizement, of the power of their ſeveral princes. Count Hertzberg, however, ſays, ſpeaking of the Pruſſian army, 'When an army is 'conſtituted and employed like ours, it is 'not a burthen, but rather a benefit to the 'ſtate;' and the more ſo, becauſe it affords a 'ſubſtantial ſecurity againſt the ſudden and 'dangerous invaſions of any ambitious neigh-'bour. In general, it appears to me, that 'it is now decided by undoubted experience, 'that if large ſtanding armies increaſe in ſome 'degree the burthen, and the expences, of 'the inhabitants of a country, they abundant-'ly compenſate for this inconvenience by 'the ſecurity that they afford; and they alſo 'render wars leſs frequent, and leſs danger-'ous; becauſe that every power being arm-'ed, they mutually reſpect each other, where-'by ſudden attacks, and unjuſt pretenſions, 'are prevented. Hence it may be juſtly ſaid, 'that by this great army the king has rendered 'a conſiderable ſervice to the human race, 'and eſtabliſhed a kind of PERPETUAL PEACE.'

[e] Diſſertation ſur la Population, &c. p. 21.

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Of all that the count has advanced upon this ſubject, the hiſtory of the reign of Frederick alone appears to be a ſufficient refutation. He had always a numerous ſtanding army; but he was engaged in long, repeated, and ſanguinary wars; and it was certainly not true, during any part of his reign, that the different ſtates of Europe were ſecure from ſudden attacks, or from unjuſt pretenſions. The fact really is, that ſuch numerous ſtanding armies can be conſtantly kept up for no other purpoſes but thoſe of ambition; they are pernicious to the people by whom they are ſupported, and dangerous to the countries which ſurround them; and they ſhould, therefore, by the enlightened nations of Europe, be univerſally diſcountenanced.

As to the Pruſſian government, no doubt can be entertained, but that it is in a very high degree deſpotic; and count Hertzberg has endeavoured to prove, that this is the beſt kind of government, if it be well adminiſtered [e]. But the probability always is, that this ſpecies of government will not be well adminiſtered; and however ably or well it may be adminiſtered, it is a ſtate of things in which human nature is degraded, and greatly inferior to a free conſtitution of government. A limited form of government, in which a proper attention is paid to the rights of the people, muſt ever be ſuperior to any mode of deſpotic government, whatever may be the

[e] Diſſertation, ubi ſupra, p. 32.

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character or abilities of the prince. It has been well obſerved by M. Adams, that 'the 'beſt and wiſeſt prince, by means of a freer 'communication with his people, and the 'greater opportunities to collect the beſt ad-'vice from the beſt of his ſubjects, would 'have an immenſe advantage in a free ſtate 'more than in a monarchy. A ſenate conſiſt-'ing of all that is moſt noble, wealthy, and 'able in the nation, with a right to counſel 'the crown at all times, is a check to miniſ-'ters, and a ſecurity againſt abuſes, that a 'body of nobles who never meet, and have 'no ſuch right, can never accompliſh. Ano-'ther aſſembly, compoſed of repreſentatives 'choſen by the people in all parts, gives the 'whole nation free acceſs, and communicates 'all the wants, knowledge, projects, and 'wiſhes of the nation, to government; excites 'an emulation among all claſſes, removes 'complaints, redreſſes grievances, affords op-'portunities of exertion to genius, though in 'obſcurity, and gives full ſcope to all the fa-'culties of man; opens a paſſage for every 'ſpeculation to the legiſlature, to adminiſtrati-'on, and to the public: it gives a univerſal 'energy to the human character, in every part 'of the ſtate, which never can be obtained in 'a monarchy[f].'

COUNT Hertzberg ſays, that 'ſelf-love, or 'perſonal intereſt, which is the great mover of

[f] Pref. to a Defence of the Conſtitutions of Government of the United States of America, p. 10.

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'all human actions, is more effectually directed to the happineſs of a ſociety, and of a ſtate, by a ſingle man, who finds it his own intereſt, than by many, who are never united, and who even cannot unite their views and their intereſts. If men poſſeſſed of the virtue and fortitude of ARISTIDES, of SCIPIO, and of CHATHAM, have not been able to ſucceed, and have rather abandoned the reins to an ariſtocracy, no other perſon ought to entertain hopes of ſucceeding s.' He alſo endeavours to ſhew, that deſpotic governments may produce regulations for the public much ſuperior to any which can comport with the nature of limited governments. But this, I think, I may venture to affirm, that though the Engliſh conſtitution is not without defects [D], and though there are often errors and miſconduct in the public adminiſtration, yet there is no deſpotic government upon earth, in which the intereſts of the great body of the people are ſo ſubſtantially promoted as in Great Britain. It often happens, at the cloſe of a ſeſſion, that the parliament of England have not done all that they might for the intereſt of the nation; and they not unfrequently, by paſſing new and injudicious laws,

s Diſſertation, ut ſupra.

[D] Among thoſe evils which the moſt loudly call for redreſs in England, one is, the practice of impreſſing ſeamen, which is a diſgrace to the nation, and totally inconſiſtent with the principles of the Engliſh conſtitution. It reflects no honour on the repreſentatives of the people, that they have hitherto paid ſo little attention to the plans that have been propoſed, for the removal of this grievance.

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leave their conſtituents in a worſe ſituation than before they aſſembled. But ſuch is the general excellence of the conſtitution [E], that the people of England, notwithſtanding the occaſional errors of their legiſlators, are always in a better ſituation, than the inhabitants of any deſpotic countries, whatever may be the talents of the princes who rule over ſuch countries, or however able or upright the miniſters whom thoſe princes may employ. In no country is the perſonal liberty and property of the inhabitants better ſecured; the laws are their ſecurity; and they are not dependent on the

[E] The more excellent and valuable the Engliſh conſtitution is, the more vigilant ought the inhabitants of Great Britain to be in its ſupport and preſervation. It ſhould not too haſtily be ſuppoſed, that becauſe it has continued long, it is therefore in no danger of being over-turned. Circumſtances occaſionally ariſe, which ſeem not favourable to its continuance; and which ought at leaſt to put the people on their guard. The ſtanding army is voted with too little conſideration or inquiry; the militia is not regulated as it ought to be; and the vaſt and perpetual augmentation of the exciſe is very unfavourable to national liberty. But great extenſions of the exciſe-laws have been ſupported, in both houſes of parliament, by men from whom better things might have been expected, and who have urged too much the plea of neceſſity. It does not follow, that becauſe it is neceſſary that money ſhould be raiſed for the purpoſes of government, that therefore no attention ſhould be paid to the mode by which money is to be raiſed; and it ſhould always be remembered by the people, that too implicit a confidence ought not to be placed in any adminiſtration whatever. A vigilant attention in the nation to the conduct of thoſe in power, is eſſential to the exiſtence and continuance of public freedom.

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will of the prince, or the caprice of his miniſters. In a government like that of Pruſſia, or in any other deſpotic government, if the prince be of a mild and beneficent diſpoſition, the ſubject may ſay, The king is good and gracious, and he will not oppreſs me. But the Engliſhman ſays, whatever may be the character of the prince, This is my property, and theſe are my rights, and the king himſelf dare not take them from me. In a deſpotic government, however ably it may be adminiſtered, and whatever may be the virtues of the monarch, human nature is always in a ſtate of degradation; and a deſpotic government, however it be exerciſed, muſt ever be an irrational government. For it never can be conſonant to reaſon, that the lives, liberties, and property of a whole nation, ſhould be ſubjected to the will, pleaſure, or caprice, of a ſingle man, whatever may be the compaſs of his knowledge, or whatever the extent of his abilities.

Count Hertzberg appears to be an upright, able, and well informed miniſter, and poſſeſſed of many amiable qualities; but he has thoſe prejudices in favour of a deſpotic government, which are natural to the miniſter of a deſpotic prince. In juſtice to him, it ſhould, however, be obſerved, that notwithſtanding what he has ſaid in favour of a deſpotic government, yet on the acceſſion of the preſent king to the throne of Pruſſia, he adviſed him to confirm, to the inhabitants of Eaſtern and Weſtern Pruſſia,

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Pruſſia, their antient rights and privileges. With this advice the king complied; and by giving this advice count Hertzberg did himſelf great honour, and at the ſame time promoted the intereſt both of the prince and of the people. But, unfortunately, in any country where ſo large a ſtanding army is kept up, as that in the Pruſſian dominions, the privileges of the people muſt ever be too much dependent on the mere will and pleaſure of the monarch.

In the courſe of this Work, I have had occaſion to relate many tranſactions of war and bloodſhed; and the period of time, which this hiſtory comprehends, exhibited too many ſcenes of carnage and of deſolation. But it may be hoped, that, from a more general diffuſion of knowledge, mankind will be at length convinced, that the arts of peace are much more worthy of cultivation than thoſe of war; that a great part of the human race ought not to be ſacrificed, to gratify the pride and the ambition of a few individuals, who may accidentally be placed in ſplendid ſituations; that the rights of men are of much greater importance than the prerogatives of princes; that government was inſtituted for the benefit of human ſociety at large, and not for the private emolument of thoſe who are inveſted with the offices of magiſtracy; and that the great objects of the philoſopher, and of every enlightened legiſlator, ſhould be, the advancement of thoſe ſciences, and of thoſe arts, that tend to the true

true dignity and felicity of human beings; the promotion of universal peace and liberty; and communicating to men, throughout every quarter of the globe, the bleſſings of a mild, a juſt, and an equal government.

FINIS.